THE CHRONICLES OF THE PATHAN KINGS OF DEHLI

ILLUSTRATED BY
COINS, INSCRIPTIONS, AND OTHER
ANTIQUARIAN REMAINS.

اَطِيعُوا اللّٰهَ وَاَطِيعُوا الرَّسُولَ وَاُولِي الاَمرِ مِنكُم

Legend on Coin No. 198, from Kurán, Súrah iv. ver. 62.

With a supplement

THE REVENUE RESOURCES OF THE MUGHAL EMPIRE IN INDIA

FROM A. D. 1593 TO A. D. 1207

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THE CHRONICLES OF THE PATHAN KINGS OF DEHLI

[redacted]

By

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PREFACE.

THE limited edition of my original Monograph on the Coins of the Patthán Sultáns of Hindústán (London, 1847), has long since been exhausted; the still more restricted impression of a Supplement, chiefly designed to reduce into type a record of perishable materials, in, as it proved, a very unsafe locality (Dehli, 1851), can scarcely be said to have been before the public. Its compilation, however, pointed consistently to a future revision of the general subject, which has been postponed, from time to time, till the accumulation of new and very ample materials has forced me to recognize my obligations to an inquiry I had in a measure made my own. The result appears in the following pages.

The two essays above referred to were essentially technical and limited in their scope to antiquarian objects; an almost identical disadvantage attended a later cognate memoir, "On the Initial Coinage of Bengal," which was devoted to the description of selections from the 13,000 coins of the very instructive Kooch Bahár *trouvaille.*

In the present work I have asserted my freedom from conventional trammels, and endeavoured to make Numismatics applicable in their larger and better sense to the many collateral questions they chance to touch, equally pressing into the service all available external aids to history, for which the laxity of Oriental tradition gives even too many openings.

It would not become me to say anything in favour of my own production; indeed, I am fully alive to its imperfections; but I may frankly say I have learnt many things, which I did not know previously, during the course of its composition. On the other hand, I have to meet, by anticipation, two objections which may strike an English reader. The first of these is the still open contest as to how Oriental words should be reproduced in Roman type. At one time I was disposed to be pedantic on the subject, and even went so far as to devise an elaborate scheme for the discriminative representation of Semitic and Aryan alphabets; but the difficulties attending the innovation seemed far to outbalance any advantages that might possibly be gained by the public, and the author himself thoroughly appreciated the benefit of being in the hands of a printer whose resources enabled him to reproduce Sanskrit or Arabic in their proper characters, with equal, if not greater facility than the anomalous dotted and accented hybrids our current type would, at the best, have admitted of.

The system I have now attempted to follow has been to recognize and retain all fixed Anglicized forms, and at the same time to embody the more definite sounds of local speech, in preference to any critical adherence to the occasionally divergent alphabets of Devanágari and Arabic. Dealing with Turanian Persian, redolent of the atmosphere of Dehli, which severe Continental Professors somewhat needlessly disparage, I have permitted myself a latitude which would neither stand the test of Iranian Persian, nor, in the adapted words, the criticism of an Arabic grammarian. I have further necessarily discarded uniformity, by frequently adhering, in my quotations, to the method of spelling favoured by the original author; so that there is, perhaps, no one of my narrow list of seeming innovations for which I could not cite, from my own extracts, previous and competent authority.

The second question refers to the general absence of translations of coin legends and illustrative texts.

It has been generally confessed from the first day "Aladdin" appeared in a European dress, that Oriental names would not bear translation, and the inflated titles of the East, rendered in the subdued language of the West, would jar even more harshly upon English ideas. My leading object in this work has been to collect materials for history, in the form of documents, which it was primarily desirable to retain in their most authentic form, or in the nearest possible approach to their original integrity,—translations in such cases would be, in effect, mere repetitions; but wherever these documents have any reference to the immediate subject of discussion, free illustrations of the context are given.

The compiler of a record like the present is more than ordinarily dependent upon the aid of his fellow-labourers: it will be seen that the number of my disinterested contributors, though necessarily inconsiderable, has been compensated by the fullness and freeness of their gifts. My obligations are due to the many collectors of coins whose names are indicated, in more detail, in the body of the work and in the subjoined note upon the despositories of existing cabinets. I am indebted to Mr. Fergusson for the use of the effective architectural engravings which illustrate the text. The woodcuts of coins, as may be gathered from their treatment, are the work of different hands, and vary in their execution to a marked degree. The best shaded examples are by Mr. J. Schnorr of Stuttgart; the engravings of Mr. Adeney are next in merit; but it is confessedly difficult to get first-class artists to undertake such complicated, and to them unintelligible subjects. So that I can scarcely bring myself to reproach the authors of my numerous disappointments in this direction.

The ground plan of Dehli, which figures as the frontispiece, is itself a curious "Old Mortality" style of document, commemorative of the earliest English survey of the environs of the ancient capital of the Patháns, as we received it from the hands of the Mahrattas after Lord Lake's action in 1803. It has been reduced in photography, by Dr. Forbes Watson's establishment, from the original Survey Map now in the Mackenzie Collection in the India Office.

London,
February 25, 1871.

NOTE ON THE OWNERSHIP AND PRESENT DEPOSITORIES OF THE VARIOUS COLLECTIONS OF COINS QUOTED IN THIS WORK.

1. Marsden Collection, in the British Museum, fully described in his work entitled Numismata Orientalia. (London, 1823.)

2. The collection in the India Office, many specimens of which are noticed and engraved in Professor Wilson's Ariana Antiqua. (London, 1841.)

3. My own original collection, comprising the coins figured in plates I.–V. of this volume, now in the British Museum. A limited but select cabinet of my later acquisitions in my own possession.

4. Mr. Edward Clive Bayley's collection, which formed the ground-work of my Supplement, printed at Dehli in 1851. In the owner's possession. (In England.)

5. Colonel Stacy's collection in the Museum of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. (In Calcutta.)

6. Mr. George Freeling's collection, partly in the Bodleian at Oxford, with the Bardoe Elliot bequest, and partly in the hands of his widow.

7. Colonel Guthrie's collection, comprising selected specimens of the Kooch Bahár *trouvaille* (plate VI.); and the choice Pathán series, so often quoted in these pages, which now embraces the accumulated treasures of General Cunningham and Major Stubbs's most successful gleanings of the last few years. (In England.)

8. Sir Walter Elliot has some curious specimens of the local series of the Dakhan, and Sir Bartle Frere has a large collection of Indian coins, which I have not yet had an opportunity of examining.

9. There are a few Pathán coins in Russia, descriptions of which will be found in Fræhn's "Recensio Numorum Muhammadanorum," and M. Dorn's Supplement to that work. Many dispersed specimens are also quoted, from continental cabinets, in the posthumous collection of M. Soret's Essays.

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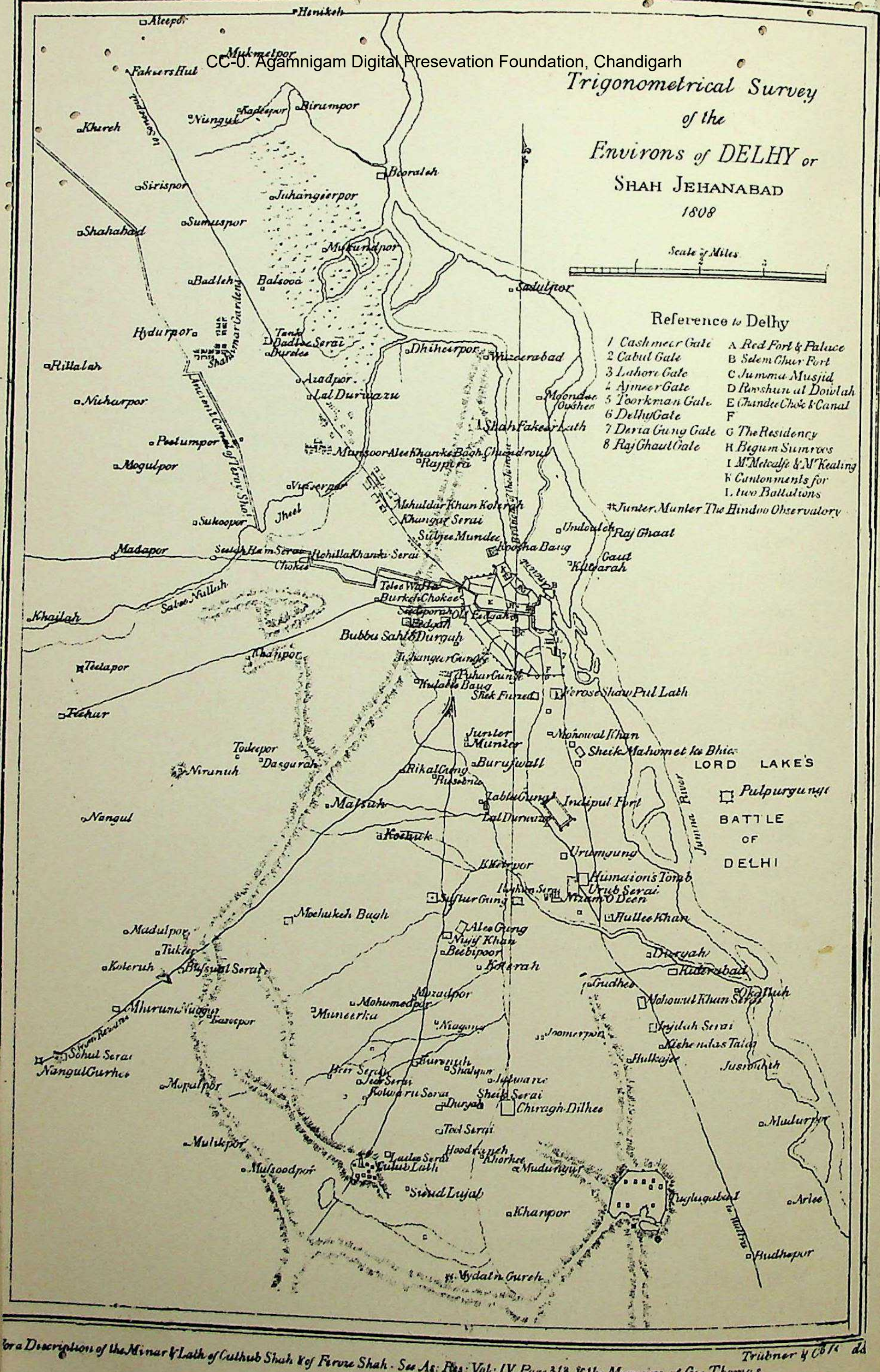
Trigonometrical Survey
of the
Environs of DELHY or
SHAH JEHANABAD
1808
Scale of Miles
1
2
3
Reference to Delhy
1 Cashmeer Gate
2 Cabul Gate
3 Lahore Gate
4 Ajmeer Gate
5 Toorkman Gate
6 Delhy Gate
7 Daria Gung Gate
8 Raj Ghaut Gate
A Red Fort & Palace
B Selem Ghur Fort
C Jumma Musjid
D Rowshun ul Dowlah
E Chandee Chok & Canal
F
G The Residency
H Begum Sumroos
I Mr. Metcalfe & Mr. Kealing
K Cantonments for
L two Battalions
Junter Munter The Hindoo Observatory
LORD LAKE'S
BATTLE
OF
DELHI
Pulpurgunge
Jumna River
Henikeh
Aleepor
Mukmelpor
Fakeers Hut
Kadeepor
Birumpor
Nungul
Khereh
Booraleh
Sirispor
Juhangeerpor
Sumuspor
Shahabad
Mukundpor
Badleh
Balsooa
Sadulpor
Hydurpor
Shalimar Garden
Tank
Badlee Serai
Burdee
Rittalah
Dhiheerpor
Wuzeerabad
Azadpor
Lal Durwaza
Nuharpor
Moondee Gushee
Shah Fakeer Lath
Ancient Canal of Feroz Shah
Peetumpor
Mogulpor
Munsoor Alee Khan ke Bagh
Chundrowl
Rajpura
Visserpor
Mshuldar Khan Koterah
Khungar Serai
Jheel
Sukoopor
Subjee Mundee
Bridge of the Jumna
Undoulek
Raj Ghaat
Madapor
Seetah Ram Serai
Rohilla Khan ke Serai
Chokee
Koosha Baug
Gaut
Kutsarah
Telee Wara
Burkil Chokee
Sabee Nullah
Khailah
Sudporah
Edgah
Old Eedgah
Bubbu Sahib Durgah
Khajipor
Teelapor
Junguar Gunge
Puhar Gunge
Kulalee Baug
Shek Fureed
Feroze Shaw Pul Lath
Tehur
Junter Munter
Mohowal Khan
Sheik Mahomet ka Bhie
Toleepor
Dasgurah
Niruruh
Burujwall
Rikal Gung
Russebrik
Zabta Gung
Indipul Fort
Malsuh
Nangul
Lal Durwaza
Kotuck
Urumgung
Khirpor
Humaion's Tomb
Urub Serai
Imhon Serai
Sufdur Gung
Nizam O Deen
Moolukeh Bugh
Rullee Khan
Madulpor
Alee Gung
Nujif Khan
Tuklee
Beebipoor
Durgah
Bussual Serai
Koleruh
Koterah
Kuderabad
Gudhee
Okalluh
Muzadpor
Mohumedpor
Mohowul Khan Serai
Muhurum Nuggur
Basecpor
Muneerka
Niagong
Joomerpor
Injilah Serai
Kishendas Talao
Sohul Serai
Nangul Gurhee
Hulkajee
Jusrolah
Burnuh
Hirr Serai
Shalpur
Jeer Serai
Mupulpor
Julwanee
Kolwaru Serai
Sheik Serai
Durgah
Chiragh Dilhee
Mudurpor
Tool Serai
Mulikpor
Hoodrooneh
Ladoo Serai
Khorkee
Cuttub Lath
Mudunpur
Mulsoodpor
Siould Lujab
Tughlugabad
Arlee
Khanpor
Budhepor
Mydan Gureh
to Muttra

For a Description of the Minar & Lath of Cuttub Shah & of Feroze Shah - See As: Res: Vol: IV. Page 313, & the Memoirs of Geo. Thomas.

Trübner & Co. lith.

THE PATHÁN KINGS OF DEHLI,

ETC.

The history of Muhammadan nations is especially open to illustration and rectification from Numismatic sources. Deficient as all mintages imitating the early Kufic models of the Khalifs may be in artistic effect or variety of device, they compensate for these imperfections, on the other part, in devoting their entire surfaces to legends which, among other occasionally significant indications, record at length the style and titles of the monarch, the date of coinage, and the name of the mint; thus affording direct evidence to three distinct facts—the existence of the sovereign as such, the epoch at which he reigned, and the country over which he was king.

The value of this species of illustration, as applied to the Medieval Indian annals now under review, is greatly enhanced by the exaggerated importance attached by the Muslims themselves to that department of the conventional regal functions, involved in the right to coin. Among these peoples, the recitation of the public prayer in the name of the aspirant to the throne, associated with the issue of money bearing his superscription, was unhesitatingly received as the overt act of accession. Unquestionably, in the state of civilization here obtaining, the production and facile dispersion of a new royal device was singularly well adapted to make manifest to the comprehension of all classes the immediate change in the supreme ruling power. In places where men did not *print*, these stamped moneys obtruding into every Bázár constituted the most effective manifestoes and proclamations human ingenuity could have devised: readily multiplied, they were individually the easiest and most naturally transported of all official documents; the veriest *Fakír*, in his semi-nude costume, might carry the ostensible proof of a new dynasty into regions where even the name of the kingdom itself was unknown. In short, there was but little limit to the range of these Eastern heralds; the Numismatic Garter King-at-Arms was recognized wherever Asiatic nations accepted the gold, and interpreters could be found to designate the Cæsar whose "epigraph" figured on its surface. So also on the occasion of new conquests, the reigning Sultán's titles were ostentatiously paraded on the local money, ordinarily in the language and alphabet of the indigenous races, to secure the more effective announcement of the fact that they themselves had passed under the sway of an alien Suzerain. Equally, on the other hand, does any modification of or departure from the rule of a comprehensive issue of coin imply an imperfection, relative or positive, in the acquisition of supreme power. There are but few instances of abstention from the exercise of this highly-prized prerogative in the present series, but in all such cases the guiding motives are sufficiently ascertained.

The epoch which the present series of medals illustrates extends from A.D. 1192 to 1554, or a period of somewhat more than three centuries and a half: during this interval six dynasties, numbering in all forty kings, succeeded in turn to the throne of Dehli. I purposely avoid any attempt at a general definition of the boundaries of the empire, at all times uncertain in extent, varying from the extreme limits of Eastern Bengal on the one side, to Kábul and Kandahár on the west, with Sindh and the Southern Peninsula to complete the circle; occasionally reduced to a few districts around the capital, and in one instance confined to the single spot inclosed within the walls of the metropolis itself.

The materials at present available suffice to determine, with some accuracy, the theoretical standards of the currency of the Pathán Sultáns. Some new evidence on the subject has lately come to light in the journals of Western travellers in India during the first half of the eighth century of the Hijrah, which coincides in a singular manner with the data afforded by the weights and intrinsic contents of existing coins; so that we are now in a position to maintain with confidence that the scheme of coinage, adopted by Altamsh from possibly conflicting native traditions, recognized the use of gold and silver pieces of equal weights, the metal in each case being as pure as the processes known to the home refiners permitted them to achieve. The intentional Mint standard must have ranged very closely upon the 175 grains, Troy, which amount can be nearly told in the balance by the better specimens to be found in modern cabinets, a definite weight also, for which there was high authority in the *Ṣataraktika*, or "One hundred rati," divisional term, which appears in early post-Vedic commentaries. The most important elements, however, of this adaptive Indian currency, consisted of hybrid pieces of silver and copper, combined in the proportions necessary to constitute the equivalent sub-divisions of the ruling silver *Tankah*, which, although it was anomalously composed of 100 Indian Gunjá seeds (*Abrus precatorius*), was never divided in practice by any other number than 64. The favourite sub-divisional current piece, in more advanced times, seems to have been

$\frac{1}{8}$ or $\frac{8}{64}$, which latter denomination it preserved in the *Hasht Káṇi*, or "Eight-Kanis," the counterpart and correspondent of eight Jítals, 64 of which also fell into the general total of a *Tankah*. And here it would seem that more purely indigenous traditions had to be reconciled to intermediate Aryan innovations. The new *Tankah* might rule and regulate its own subdivisions, but it does not seem to have been able to emancipate itself from the old silver *Puráṇa* of 32 Ratis of Manu's Code, which maintained its old weight of 56 grains, in independent isolation, down to the time of Muhammad bin Tughlak. So intuitive in the native mind was the idea of reckoning by *fours*, the "Gunḍá" of the modern indigène, that gold and silver were supposed to conform to some such law, being estimated theoretically, whatever the current rate may have been at any given moment, at 1 : 8. So also the silver piece was divided into 8 (or primarily 8 × 8), and the copper exchange against silver commenced with 4 *fals* to the $\frac{1}{64}$ of a Tankah. The Quaternary scale, in short, was all-pervading; there was no escaping the inevitable 4's, 16's, 32's, and 64's, the heritage of the masses, which, having survived alike Aryan intrusion and Muhammadan conquest, still flourish undisturbed by the presence of British decimals.

The modifications effected in the coinage by Muhammad bin Tughlak are highly instructive, and seem to determine beyond question the ratios of gold to silver obtaining at the period. Not less worthy of study is his attempt to introduce a forced currency of copper tokens. The amplification by Fírúz Sháh of the divisional pieces of mixed copper and silver is also of importance, as leading-up to the almost exclusive use of this species of currency under Buhlól Lodi and his son Sikandar, and, finally, in the reforms perfected by Shír Sháh,—the production of the "Rupee" (of 178 grains), and the substitution of copper coins for the fallacious mixed-metal pieces,—may be seen the almost unchanged condition of the lower currencies of Her Majesty's Government in India at the present day.

Amid the general series of the coins of the Dehli monarchs I have also incorporated notices of many collateral issues, more or less directly identified with their rule, such as the local moneys superseded and imitated on the immediate absorption of the kingdoms of the Hindú potentates: offshoots of the Ghazní and Dehli systems from the mints of the Muslim contemporaries of the early occupying conquerors, who held, in their own right, outlying provinces in India. And, more consecutively, reference has been made to the currencies of their fellow-warriors for the faith in Bengal, who from time to time confessed allegiance to the Sultáns of Hindústán. And, lastly, advantage has been taken of an analogous species of illustration contributed by the inscriptions recorded on the public monuments of the Imperial dynasty, which, in early days, were largely and effectively employed in the decoration of the walls and gateways of mosques, palaces, and tombs. These essentially Oriental compositions, whether as regards the ornamental form of the Arabesque, or the more stern chiselling of the Kufic letters, may freely vie with the best specimens of Saracenic art extant.

I now proceed to exhibit a complete list of the sovereigns of the Pathán dynasty, with the dates of accession of each. I must premise that I have intentionally retained the Hijrah era as the leading reference for all dates, as in many cases where the precise period in Muhammadan months or days was uncertain, it would have been impossible to fix the corresponding epoch in the Christian era. Hence I have adopted the plan of annexing to the bare Hijrah date of the elevation of each king, the day and the year of our calendar answering to the initial day of the Hijrah year so quoted. The note at the foot of this page,[1] giving the names and order of the Arabic months, and the rules for calculating the irregularities of the Muhammadan year, will efficiently supply the references to intermediate periods.

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[1] The Hijrah era commenced on the 15th July, A.D. 622 The year is purely lunar, consisting of twelve months, each month being reckoned from the appearance of the new moon, without any intercalation. In practice, months of 30 and 29 days are made to alternate, thus completing a year of 354 days: eleven times in thirty years one day is added to the last month, making 355 days in that year. So that the average length of a year is $354\frac{11}{30}$ days, a month, or $\frac{1}{12}$, being $29\frac{191}{360}$. The intercalary year of 355 days occurs on the 2nd, 5th, 7th, 10th, 13th, 15th, 18th, 21st, 24th, 26th, and 29th years of every thirty years.

THE MUHAMMADAN MONTHS ARE AS FOLLOWS :—

1.	مُحَرَّم	Muharram,	30 days.
2.	صفر	Safar,	29 ,,
3.	ربيع الاوّل	Rabí'ul awwal,	30 ,,
4.	ربيع الاخر	Rabí'ul ákhir,	29 ,,
5.	جمادي الاوّل	Jumáda'l awwal,	30 ,,
6.	جمادي الاخر	Jumáda'l ákhir,	29 ,,
7.	رجب	Rajab,	30 ,,
8.	شعبان	Sh'abán	29 ,,
9.	رمضان	Ramaẓán,	30 ,,
10.	شوّال	Shawwál,	29 ,,
11.	ذي القعده	Zí'l k'adah,	30 ,,
12.	ذي الحجّه	Zí'l hijjah,	29 ,,

LIST OF THE PATHAN SULTANS OF HINDUSTAN.

NO.	DATE OF ACCESSION. A.H.	INITIAL DATE OF THE HIJRAH YEAR. A.D.	NAMES OF SULTÁNS.
1	589	Jan. 7, 1193	Mu'izz-ud-dín Muhammad bin Sám (1st Dynasty).
2	602	Aug. 18, 1205	Kutb-ud-dín Aibek.
3	607	June 25, 1210	A'rám Sháh.
4	607	,, ,,	Shams-ud-dín Altamsh.
5	633	Sept. 16, 1235	Rukn-ud-dín Fírúz Sháh I.
6	634	Aug. 14, 1236	Sultán Riẓíah.
7	637	,, 3, 1239	Mu'izz-ud-dín Bahrám Sháh.
8	639	July 12, 1241	Alá-ud-dín Mas'aúd Sháh.
9	644	May 19, 1246	Násir-ud-dín Mahmúd.
10	664	Oct. 13, 1265	Ghíás-ud-dín Balban.
11	686	Feb. 16, 1287	Mu'izz-ud-dín Kaikubád. [Dynasty).
12	689	Jan. 14, 1290	Jalál-ud-dín Fírúz Sháh II. *Khilji* (2nd
13	695	Nov. 10, 1295	Rukn-ud-dín Ibrahím.
14	695	,, ,,	Alá-ud-dín Muhammad Sháh.
15	715	April 7, 1315	Shaháb-ud-dín 'Umar.
16	716	March 26, 1316	Kutb-ud-dín Mubárak Sháh I.
17	720	Feb. 12, 1320	Násir-ud-dín Khusrú. [Dynasty).
18	720	,, ,,	Ghíás-ud-dín Tughlak Sháh (3rd
19	725	Dec. 18, 1324	Muhammad bin Tughlak.
20	752	Feb. 28, 1351	Fírúz Sháh III. *bin Salar Rajab.*
21	790	Jan. 11, 1388	Tughlak Sháh II.
22	791	Dec. 31, 1388	Abúbakr Sháh.
23	792	Dec. 20, 1389	Muhammad Sháh bin Fírúz Sháh.
24	795	Nov. 17, 1392	Sikandar Sháh. [(Tímúr, 800).
25	795	,, ,,	Mahmúd Sháh bin Muhammad Sháh
26	797	Oct. 27, 1394	Nusraṭ Sháh, *Interregnum*, Mahmúd restored, 802.
27	815	April 13, 1412	Daulat Khán Lódi.
28	817	March 23, 1414	Khizr Khán *Syud* (4th Dynasty).
29	824	Jan. 6, 1421	Mu'izz-ud-dín Mubárak Sháh II.
30	837	Aug. 18, 1433	Muhammad Sháh bin Faríd Sháh.
31	847	May 1, 1443	'A'lam Sháh.
32	855	Feb. 3, 1451	Buhlól Lódi (5th Dynasty).
33	894	Dec. 5, 1488	Sikandar bin Buhlól.
34	923	Jan. 24, 1517	Ibráhím bin Sikandar (Bábar, 932 A.H.)
35	937	Aug. 25, 1530	Muhammad Humáyún, *Mughal.*
36	947	May 8, 1540	Faríd-ud-dín Shír Sháh, *Afghán.*
37	952	March 15, 1545	Islám Sháh.
38	960	Dec. 18, 1552	Muhammad 'A'dil Sháh.
39	961	Dec. 7, 1553	Ibráhím Súr. [962 A.H.)
40	962	Nov. 26, 1554	Sikandar Sháh. (Humáyún, restored

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INTRODUCTORY LIST OF THE RULERS AND KINGS OF BENGAL.

NO.	DATE OF ACCESSION A.H.	INITIAL DATE OF THE HIJRAH YEAR. A.D.	NAMES OF RULERS AND KINGS.
1	600	Sept. 10, 1203	*Muhammad Bakhtiár Khilji.*
2	602	Aug. 18, 1205	'Izz-ud-dín Muhammad Shírán *Khiljí.*
3	605	July 16, 1208	'Alá-ud-dín 'Ali Mardán, *Khilji.*
4	608	June 15, 1211	Husám-ud-dín 'Awz *Khilji* (*Sultán* Ghiás-ud-dín)
5	624	Dec. 22, 1226	Násir-ud-dín *Mahmúd,* bin *Sultán Altamsh* (Coin, No. 60).
6	627	Nov. 20, 1229	'Alá-ud-dín Jání.
7	,,	,, ,,	Saif-ud-dín Aibek, *Yughán Tat.*
8	631	Oct. 7, 1233	'Izz-ud-dín Tughral, *Tughán Khán.* } *Rizíah,* 634–7
9	642	June 9, 1244	Ḳamr-ud-dín *Tamar Khán,* Kírán.
10	,,	,, ,,	Ikhtíár-ud-dín, Yúzbeg.[1] *Tughral Khán.*
11	656	Jan. 8, 1258	Jalál-ud-dín Mas'aud *Muluk Jáni.*
12	657	Dec. 29, 1258	'Izz-ud-dín Balban,[2] *Uzbegi.*
13	,,	,, ,,	Táj-ud-dín Arslán Khán, Sanjar, *Khwarizmi.*
14	659	Dec. 6, 1260	Muhammad Arslán Khán, *Tatar Khán*
15	676(?)		*Sultan* Maghís-ud-dín Tughral.
16	681	April 11, 1282	*Bughrá Khán,* Násir-ud-dín *Mahmúd,* second son of *Sultán Balban.*
17	691	Dec. 24, 1291	Rukn-ud-dín *Kai Káús.*
18	702	Aug. 26, 1302	Shams-ud-dín *Fírúz Sháh.* (Reigned in Lakhnautí till 722.)
19	?		Shaháb-ud-dín *Bughrah Sháh.*
20	710	May 31, 1310	Ghiás-ud-dín *Bahádur Sháh.*
21	733	Sept. 22, 1332	*Muhammad bin Tughlak.*
22	737	Aug. 10, 1336	Fakr-ud-dín *Mubárak Sháh.*
23	742	June 17, 1341	Alá-ud-dín *'Ali Sháh.*
24	751	March 11, 1350	Ikhtíár-ud-dín *Gházi Sháh.*

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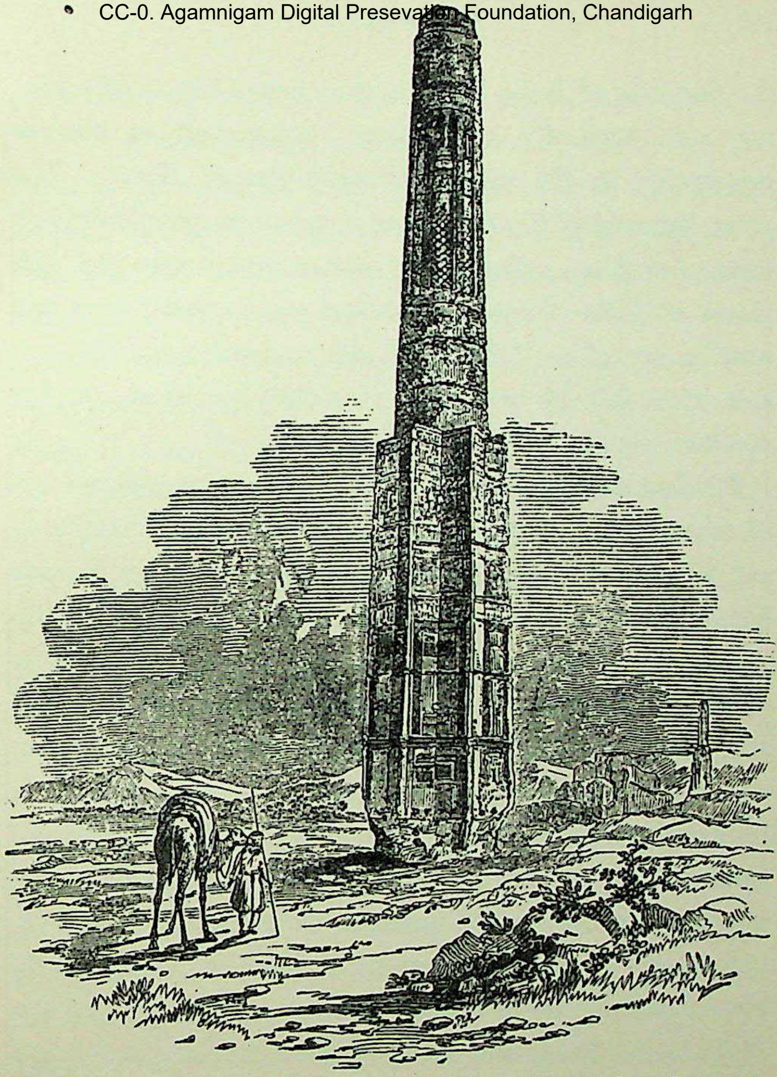
[1], [2] These contrasts in the orthography follow the Persian text of Minháj-us-Siráj, who seems to have designed to mark a difference in the pronunciation; but I should be unwilling to rely upon any such chance discriminations, in a text so obviously at the mercy of ignorant Oriental copyists.



THE MINARET OF MAS'AÚD III., A.H. 492–508 (A.D. 1099–1114), AT GHAZNÍ,[1] from a Sketch by G. J. Vigne, Esq.

Fergusson's Handbook of Architecture, vol. i. p. 415.

FIRST KING (A.H. 589–602; A.D. 1193–1205).

The man who, by the force of his own energy, or that which he imparted to his generals, was enabled to change

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[1] INSCRIPTION ON THE MINARET. (From Jour. As. Soc. Bengal.)

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم امر السلطان الاعظم ملك الاسلام اعلام الملة

the destinies of India towards the close of the twelfth century A.D., came of a royal house, dating from an obscure principality in the mountains south-east of Herát. The great Mahmúd of Ghazní, some two centuries previously, had penetrated frequently and by varied routes into the rich plains of India; his aim, with but scant affectation of the Muslim cry of a "holy war," was in truth mere plunder, and with this he returned plentifully gratified to his northern capital.

The later scions of the dynasty of Subuktagín, driven out of Ghazní on its sack by 'Alá-ud-dín Husain Jahánsóz in A.H. 550, retired to Láhor, and had already, in effect, become domesticated Indian sovereigns; so that as Mu'izz-ud-dín pressed down and around them, the occupation of the more advanced provinces of Hindústán followed as a natural sequence. *Mu'izz-ud-dín* Muhammad bin Sám, or *Shaháb-ud-dín,* as he was called in his youth, otherwise known as Muhammad Ghori, the founder of the Pathán dynasty of Dehli, is first noticed in history on the occasion of his nomination, in conjunction with his elder brother, Ghiás-ud-dín, to the charge of a province of Ghor, by his uncle, the notorious 'Alá-ud-dín Husain *Jahánsóz.* After the accession of Ghiás-ud-dín to the throne of Ghor, in 558 A.H., Mu'izz-ud-dín, acting as his general, subdued portions of Khorásán; and, on the conquest of Ghazní, in 569, he was nominated

و الدولة ابو سعيد مسعود بن ظهير الدولة المحمودي ابو ابراهيم نصير
الدين امير المومنين يمين المملكة امين الملة مالك رقاب الامم سلطان
المكرم الخاقان مولي ملوك العرب و العجم خلد اللّٰه تعلي ملكه وسلطانه
و افاض علي العلمين بره واحسانه غفر الله له ولوالديه و لجميع المسلمين

by his Suzerain brother to the government of that country. From this time his incursions into India commenced: in 571 he conquered Multán; in 574 he experienced a sanguinary defeat in an expedition against the prince of Nahrwála; next, Khusrú Malik, the last of the Ghaznavis, was assailed; and at length, in 582, captured by stratagem. In 587, in a more extended expedition into Hindústán, Muhammad Ghori was totally routed on the memorable field of Thaneswar by the Chohán leader, Prithví Rája of Ajmír. After a year's repose, the disgrace of this defeat still rankling within him, he, on the self-same battle-ground, again encountered his former adversary, now supported by the whole force of the country, the confederated armies of one hundred and fifty princes. This time fortune favoured the Ghoris, and a hard-fought field terminated in the total discomfiture of the Indian host. By this single victory the Muhammadans may be said to have become the virtual masters of Hindústán. The ulterior measures for the subjugation of the country were of speedy accomplishment, and most of the later additions to the Indian empire of Muhammad Ghori were perfected by his quondam slave, subsequent representative in Hindústán, and eventual successor on the throne of Dehli, Kutb-ud-dín Aibek. Ghíás-ud-dín, who had long retained little beyond the title of a king, died in 599 A.H., and shortly afterwards Mu'izz-ud-dín was installed in form. An unsuccessful attempt at conquest in the north, in itself attended by most disastrous results, was succeeded by the revolt of the governors of Ghazní and Multán: this outbreak, however, was soon suppressed. In the month of Sh'abán, A.H. 602,[1] Muhammad Ghori was slain in his tent, in the centre of his own camp, by a band of Gakkars. At his death, the Muslim empire in India extended generally over nearly the whole of Hindústán Proper, Sind, and Bengal. The sovereignty was, however, held by very exceptional tenures, and was most indeterminate in its inner geographical limits.

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[1] سوم زغرهٔ شعبان بسال ششصد ودو فتاد در ره غزنین بمنزل دمیک
And the "*Manzil* of Damík" became a proverb in the land.—Tabakát-i-Násiri, p. 124.

Mu’izz-ud-dín Muhammad bin Sám.

No. 1. (Similar to No. 2 Plate I.)

Gold. Weight, 93 grs. Very rare. Ghazní. A.H. 692. Col. Guthrie.

Circular Areas.

لااله الاالله
الناصر بالله السلطان
الاعظم غياث الدنيا
والدين ابو الفتح
محمد بن سام
هو الذي ارسل . . . على الدين
كله و لو كره المشركون
—Súrah lxi. 9. Kurán.

لله
محمد رسول الله
السلطان المعظم
معزالدنيا و الدين
ابو المظفر محمد
بن سام

Margin, .. غزنه في شهور سنه
اثني و تسعين و ستمايه

1*a*. There is another imperfect specimen of this gold issue in the Masson Collection in the East India Library, weighing 99 grs.

No. 2 (Fig. 2, plate i.). Silver. Weight, 68 grs. Similar types. Masson Collection. Dates observed, A.H. 590, 596.

No. 3. (No. 1, Plate I.)

Silver. 74 grs. Very rare. A.H. 596. (*Prinsep Collection*, B.M.)

Legends arranged in concentric circles.

Obv.—

هو الذى ارسل رسوله بالهدى ودين الحق ليظهره علي الدين كله ولو

كره المشركون

لا اله الاالله محمّد رسول الله السُلطان الاعظم

غياث الدنياو الدين ابو الفتح

محمّد بن سام

Rev.—

ضرب هذا الدرهم فى بلده غزنه سنه ست و تسعين و خمس مايه

الناصرلدين الله السلطان المعظم معز

الدنيا و الدين ابو المظفر

محمد بن سام

TRANSLATION.

Obv.—It is he that hath sent his messenger, with guidance and the true faith, that he might exalt it above all religions, though the infidels be averse thereto. (Kurán, Súrah ix. 33.)—There is no god but God. Muhammad is the prophet of God! The most mighty sovereign—Ghiás ud dunyá wa ud dín, Abúl Fath. —Muhammad bin Sám.

Rev.—This Dirham was struck in the city of Ghaznah, in the year five hundred and ninety-six.—Al Násir le dín illah (the Khalif). The mighty sovereign, Mu'izz—ud dunyá wa ud dín Abúl Muzaffar. —Muhammad bin Sám.

The above coins in the joint names of Ghiás-ud-dín and Mu'izz-ud-dín, bear testimony to the associated regal powers of the two brothers. It is to be noticed, however, that the superlative الاعظم "The greatest," is applied to the one king, while معظم "Great," is all that is extended to the conqueror of India. It will be observed from the coins which follow that, on the death of his brother, Mu'izz-ud-dín himself adopted the superlative الاعظم

3*a*. *Silver*. Weight, 133 grs. Similar coin. Col. Guthrie.

No. 4. (No. 3. Plate I.)

Silver. Weight 59·4 grs. Square areas. A.H. 598. Col. Guthrie.

Reverse.	Obverse.
لااله الاالله	السلطان الاعظم
محمد رسول الله	معز الدنيا و
الناصر لدين الله	الدين ابو المظفر
امير المومنين	محمد بن سام

Margins illegible.

The above coins are in effect merely introductory to the Dehli series proper, emanating from the Imperial mint of the first occupying Muhammadan conqueror of India, they in some degree formed the models upon which the phraseology of the legends of the new currency was based, though, it will be seen, that they in no degree affected the system of weights or values obtaining in the northern provinces of India. Indeed, the old issues of "Dehliwálas" composed of a mixture of copper and silver, retained their place throughout the land, and were imitated and adopted, with altered legends, by Altamsh and his feudatories, Kubáchah of Sind, and others; and it is not until the year 630 A.H. that any silver pieces of the new empire make their appearance (No. 28 *infrà*), and then their standard of weight equally follows the Indian system.

No. 5. (No. 4, Plate I.)

Mixed silver and copper. 49 grs. Rare. (Sind Mint.)

Obv.—السلطان الاعظم محمد بن سام

Rev.—Horseman in outline (conventionally styled *Tughra* تغري), with the *Hindi* legend स्री हंमीरः *Srí Hammírah.*

No. 6. (No. 5, Plate I.)

Mixed silver and copper. Weight, 49 grs. Rare.

Obv.—Same as No. 5.

Rev.—Rude figure of a cavalier, with lance at the charge.

No. 7. (No. 6, Plate I.)

Silver (impure). 46 grs. (Ghor Mint?)

Obv.—السلطان الاعظم ابوالمظفر محمد بن سام

Rev.—Rude representation of a horseman, with lance at the charge; but the contrast is marked in the adherence to the statuesque as opposed to the interlaced combination of letters and material forms affected in Muhammadan *Tughra.*

No. 8. (No. 7, Plate I.)

Silver and copper. (Láhor Mint ?)

Obv.—السلطان المعظم معز الدنيا و الدين

Rev.—محمد بن سام *

No. 9. (No. 8, Plate I.)

Silver and copper. 46 grs. (Láhor Mint.)

Obv.—السلطان المعظم معز الدنيا و الدين

Rev.—ابو المظفر محمد بن سام

No. 10. (No. 9, Plate I.)

Silver and copper. 49 grs. (Dehli Mint.)

Obv.—स्री महमद सामे *Srí Mahamad Sáme.*

Rev.—स्री हंमीरः *Srí Hammírah.*

No. 11. Silver and copper. Weight, 48 grs. (Sind Mint.) Similar *Hindi* legends, both obverse and reverse, to No. 10. The device of the Horseman follows the same tracings as the figure on No. 5, and the forms of the letters are nearly identical, approximating closely to the style in use on the coins of Kubáchah.

No. 12. Silver and copper. Weight, 45 grs. New type. E. I. Collection. (Pesháwar Mint.)

Obv.—Bull in Tughra, greatly distorted.

. . . द सामे *Mahamad Sáme.*

Rev.—Horseman, well-defined. Similar in design to No. 4, Plate I.

Legend—श्री हंमीरः Sri *Hammirah.*

In a line with the spear, reading upwards, under the horse, in delicate Persian letters, is to be seen the word [1]برشور *Parshór* (Peshávar). On the horse's quarter may be read the letters جلا *Jalál*? (See Prinsep's Essays, pl. xxv. fig. 20.)

No. 13. (No. 10, Plate I.)

Silver and copper. 46 grs. (Gwálior Mint.)

Obv.—महमद सामि *Mahamad Sámi.*

Rev.—Figure of the Horseman greatly debased. No legend.

No. 14. Silver and copper. Weight, 38 grs. My cabinet.

Obv.—* * الاعظم معزالدين محمد بن سام

Rev.—A rude figure of a horse.

Similar to those depicted in Prinsep's Essays, pl. xxv. figs. 8–13; Ariana Antiqua, pl. xix. fig. 14, and pl. xx. fig. 6.

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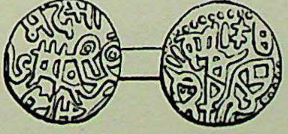
[1] The reading of Parshór is confirmed by later specimens from the mints of 'Alá-ud-dín Muhammad, *Khwárizmi*, who was critical in his geography, inserting the names of his mints in all sorts of odd corners, wherever space was to be found in the general design; for instance, *Bamián* on a line with the spear, *Karmán* (imitating Ilduz) on the side of the Bull, and برشور in the same place.—Journ. R.A.S. xii. pp. 205, 206. See also Elliot's Historians, i. 47, and ii. 397.

I do not propose to review in any detail the general series of Muhammad Ghori's Indian coinages, but there is a single specimen which I am anxious to notice on account of the unusual, indeed unique, nature of its legends, though I have frankly to confess that the imperfect and obscured reverse epigraph, in which is involved the whole question of novelty, leaves a doubt as to the finality of any opinion that may now be pronounced.[1] The appearance of the joint names of Muhammad bin Sám and Prithví Rája on one and the same coin is certainly startling, but there is nothing in the fact that need militate against local probabilities. We find that "the son of Rai Pitaura, who had been advanced under the protection of the sublime court," was left in charge of Ajmír,[2] in which case a numismatic confession of fealty would be quite appropriate, or this coinage may even have been struck in his name, under authority at head-quarters, for special circulation in his government. Indeed, this particular piece has, in effect, more the appearance of Dehli Mint art than of Ajmír manipulation. Many other explanations of the association might be given, but that it is useless to enlarge upon such imperfect data; and I only publish this curious piece that attention may be drawn to the possible existence of similar specimens in other imperfectly examined collections.



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[1] General Cunningham has also examined this coin at my request, and, while expressing surprise at the combination of names, does not at all contest the obvious reading of the letters still visible on the coin.

[2] Táj-ul-Maásir, Elliot's Historians, ii. pp. 216, 219, 220, 226. Tod, ii. 451.

No. 15. Silver and Copper. Weight, 36 grs. (My cabinet.) Unique.

Horseman.	Bull.
—पृथ्व	स्री महमद साम
. . Prithvi .	Srí Mahamad Sám.

The Indian coinages of Muhammad bin Sám were, as may be seen, avowedly adaptive, and introductory to the more fixed and systematized mintages of his successors. One of these assimilated issues of unusual historical interest consists of the Gold Money put forth, in close mechanical identity of metal, symbols, and style of writing, in the name of the Muslim conqueror, immediately on the fall of Jai Chand, the last of the Rahtors of Kanauj,[1] in A.D. 1194. A suggestive fact connected with this attempt to maintain the supply of the local currency, and simultaneously to proclaim the victor's success, a convenient measure for utilizing plunder rather affected under the Sword of Islám, is that so many of these pieces found their way to the home of the invaders, and so few remained to aid the commerce of the indigènes.[2]

The intermediate coin (No. 17) of Prithví (Varmma) Deva, a contemporary of Govinda's (No. 16), indicates that much of the dominion of the Rahtors had already passed away from them, though the successful Chándel and his adversary were both destined shortly to fall before the assaults of an alien race.

[1] He is called Jai Chand of Benares by the Táj-ul-Maásir.—Elliot, ii. 223, 300. So also Minháj, p. 140, text. The Bard Chand also mentions that the Raja of Kási was a feudatory of Kanauj (Tod, ii. 456). The Rahtor capital was latterly removed to Bari, east of the Ganges.

[2] Only one of these coins of Muhammad bin Sám seems to have fallen to the share of James Prinsep's numerous contributors (Essays, i. 289), who found the older issues common enough. The twenty-six specimens of the conqueror's coinage now noticed seem all to have been obtained by Masson in Afghanistán.

The modifications the name and titles of Muhammad bin Sám undergo in the contrasted specimens are curious, and may be supposed to indicate the several stages of recent victory,[1] and more fixed occupation and administration of the kingdom by his officials.

KANAUJ COINS.

Govinda Chandra, A.D. 1120-1144.[2]

No. 16. Gold. (Prinsep, pl. xxiv. fig. 2; Ariana Antiqua, xx. 22; and H. H. Wilson. Asiatic Researches, xviii.)

Obverse—The Goddess *Lakshmí* seated. The figure holding the cornucopia is imitated from the earliest types of the Gupta coinage (Prinsep's Essays, Pl. xxiii. 18, 19, etc.).

Reverse—Legend in three lines—

श्री मद्गोविंद· चंद्रदेव ॥

Srí mad Govinda Chandra Deva.

Prithví (Varmma) Deva Chándel Rája of Mahoba, etc.[3] (A.D. 1125-1130).

No. 17. Gold. (Prinsep's Essays, i. 292.) Common.

Obverse as usual.

Reverse—

श्री मत्पृथ्वी देव

Srí Mat Prithví Deva.

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[1] The Táj-ul-Maásir has a record of this mintage, "and the face of the dínár and the diram was adorned with the name and titles" of the king.—Elliot, ii. 223.

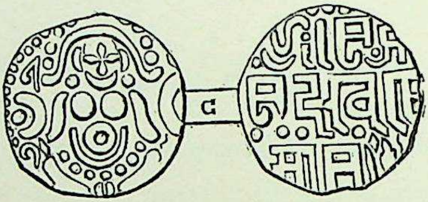
[2] Prinsep, Useful Tables, p. 258.

[3] See Gen. Cunningham's List, quoted below, p. 65.

MUHAMMAD BIN SÁM'S KANAUJ COINS.

(Date of Conquest A.H. 590 = A.D. 1194.)

No. 18. Gold. (5 specimens. E. I. Collection.) Prinsep's Essays, pl. xxiv. fig. 3, vol. i. 292; Ariana Antiqua, pl. xxi. 25.



Obverse as usual in the Kanauj series.

Reverse—श्री महमद् वेने साम ॥ *Ṣrí Mahamad bene Sám.*

No. 19. Gold. (21 specimens. E. I. Collection.) Prinsep's Essays, i. 292; Ariana Antiqua, pl. xx. 25, 26, 27.

Obverse as usual.

Reverse—श्री हमीर महमद् साम—*Ṣrí Hamír Mahamad Sám.*

In further illustration of these Numismatic memorials, I propose to insert, as occasion offers, selected specimens of the monumental inscriptions of the Patháan dynasty, which I had prepared for publication so long ago as 1855. For the majority of these records I was originally indebted to Syud Ahmad Khán's excellent Archæological History of Dehli, the "Ásár-us-Sunnadeed,"[1] but the more complicated epigraphs were re-examined and patiently tested, both by that enthusiastic antiquary and myself, under the very shadow of the buildings upon whose walls they are engraved.

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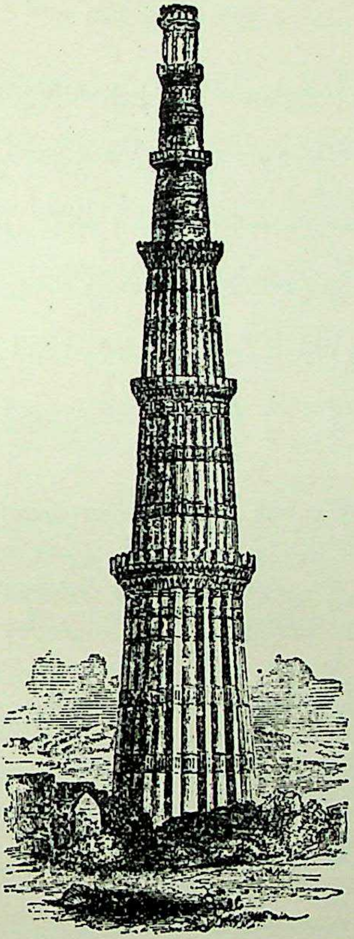
[1] The first edition of the آثار الصناديد (written in *Urdú*) appeared at Dehli in 1846; a second and greatly improved edition, illustrated with numerous facsimiles, was published in 1854. A large portion of this latter has been reproduced in French, by M. Garcin de Tassy, in the Journal Asiatique, vols. xv. (1860) p. 508, xvi. 190, 392, 521, and xvii. 77. This series of articles extends over nearly 200 pages, 8vo.



THE KUTB MINÁR AT DEHLI.

"The minár is 48 ft. 4 in. in diameter at the base, and, when measured in 1794, was 242 ft. in height. Even then, however, the capital was ruined, so that ten or perhaps twenty feet must be added to this to complete its original elevation. It is ornamented by four boldly projecting balconies; one at 90, the second at 140, the third at 180, and the fourth at 203 feet from the ground; between which are richly sculptured raised belts containing inscriptions. In the lower story the projecting flutes are alternately angular and circular, in the second circular, and in the third angular only; above this the minár is plain, but principally of white marble, with belts of the red sandstone, of which the three lower stories are composed."—Fergusson's Handbook of Architecture, i. 421.

A. Inscription of *Muhammad bin Sám*, on the 4th circlet of the lower story of the Kutb Minár.

السلطان المعظم شهنشاه الاعظم مالک رقاب الامم مولی ملوک

العرب و العجم سلطان السلاطين في العالم غياث الدنيا و الدين معز
الاسلام و المسلمين محي العدل في العالمين علاء الدولة القاهره فلك
الملة الطاهره جلال الامة الباهره شهاب الخلافة باسط الاحسان و
الرافة في الثقلين ظل الله في الخافقين الحامي لبلاد الله الرِاعي. لعباد
الله محرز ممالك الدنيا و مظهر كلمة الله العليا ابو المظفر محمد بن
سام قسيم امير المومنين خلد الله ملكه

B. The second band or belt of Inscriptions (counting from the basement upwards) is also filled in with a nearly similar enumeration of the titles of Muhammad bin Sám, concluding, however, with the hitherto novel designation of سكندر الثاني

Inscriptions of *Kutb-ud-din Aibeg.*

C. The second line of the Inscription under the arch of the eastern entrance to the Kutb Mosque, at Dehli, dated A.H. 587[1]=1191 A.D.

اين حصاررا فتح كرد و اين مسجد جامع را به ساخت بتاريخ في
شهور سنه سبع و ثمانين و خمسماية امير اسفهسالار اجل كبير قطب

---

[1] General Cunningham, on his last visit to Dehli in 1862, critically examined this inscription with a binocular, and was inclined to think that Syud Ahmad had been in error in reading this date as 587 instead of 589 (Arch. Report, p. 28). As I have, I believe, succeeded in satisfying General Cunningham that 587 is the correct *sculptured* date, I should not have entered further into the question, were it not for the historical importance of the numbers in question. I stated with some confidence in my edition of Prinsep's Essays (Vol. i., p. 326) that the true date in this epigraph was 587 A.H., and my justification for so positive an assertion was that I had, in January, 1855, very carefully studied the original, even to the extent of assuring myself of the bearing of every line and letter, by means of a scaffolding erected for the purpose, which was necessary, as the inscription was high up, and, moreover, obscured ordinarily by the arch under and within which it was placed. In this examination I took eye tracings and paper impressions

الدوله و الدين اميرالامرا اي‌بك سلطاني اعزالله انصاره و بيست و
هفت آلت بتخانه كي [sic] در هر بتخانه دوبار هزار بار هزار دليوال
صرف شده بود درين مسجد بكاربسته شده است
خداي عز و جل بران بنده رحمت كناد هركه بر {continuation in the corner department}
نيت باني خيردعاء ايمان كويد

of all such parts as presented any difficulties, and this enabled me to correct, without hesitation, Syud Ahmad's reading of

"هفت الله بتخانه مركنى در هر بتخانه دو ياهزار"

into the text given above—but the date was to my apprehension so obvious, that I did not either copy or take a rubbing of the words. However, to set the question definitely at rest, I have now sent out to Dehli, and have had the doubtful passage examined anew by a most competent authority, and the reply received is that there is *no doubt* that the unit is سبع and not تسع, the points are of but little consequence, the position of the elongated up-stroke settles the question, in these cases, and as for the "two dots," even supposing them to exist, the dots are so scattered at hazard in these legends that but little reliance could be placed upon their referring more directly to تسع than to the penultimate letter of ثمانين, which is immediately over it. Ibn Batutah, during his residence at the Court of Dehli (A.H. 734–743), read the date on the original monument as 584 A.H. (French edition, iii. pp. xi. 146, 161), but the mistake of substituting اربع *four* for سبع *seven*, in the decipherment of the intertwined *tughra* writing, would readily occur, even if the error is not due to the still more probable source of the careless copying of his autograph MS.

As regards the historical evidence to the date of 587 A.H. for the capture of Dehli by the Muslims, it is complete and consistent in the best authorities; Hasan Nizámi, a so to say contemporary, places the event in 587 (Elliot, ii. p. 216), and Minháj-us-Siráj repeats in various forms, while treating of the life of Aibeg, the confirmation of the same date. (Elliot, ii. p. 300; Calcutta text, pp. 139, and at p. 141, in noticing Kutb-ud-dín's death in 607 A.H., it expressly adds, "from the first conquest of Dehli (ازاول فتح دهلے) to this time 20 years"). The discrepancy which it has been attempted clumsily to correct in some versions of the Persian text seems to have arisen out of the faulty narrative of the life of Mu'izz-ud-dín himself (Calcutta text, p. 120 and note, p. 139).

D. Inscription over the northern entrance to the Mosque, dated A.H. 592=1195–6 A.D.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم يدعو الى دارالسلام و يهدى من يشاء الى
صراط المستقيم (Kurán, x. 26) في شهور سنه اثنى و تسعين جرت هذه
العمارة بعالى امر السلطان المعظم معز الدنيا و الدين محمد بن سام
باصر امير المومنين

E. Date on the Centre Gateway of the Mosque, A.H. 594=A.D. 1197–8.

تاريخ العشرين من ذي القعده سنه اربع و تسعين و خمس مايه

I consider that all these inscriptions were executed under the direct auspices of Kutb-ud-dín Aibeg, though he emblazons his own name and title in a single and special instance. There is a further record of his active participation in the erection of these buildings on the defaced lower band of the Minár, immediately over the foundation course, where his recognized titles of الاسفهسالار الاجل الكبير [1] are still legible. I may remark, incidentally, with reference to the much-debated question as to the assumed Hindú origin or the secondary adaptation by the Muhammadans of the partially prepared Kutb Minár, that General Cunningham's arguments, tending to prove the independent inception of the design by *Kutb-ud-dín Aibeg* are to my mind conclusive,[2] and this determination asserts itself altogether apart from the internal evidence of the inscriptions themselves; for, by parity of reasoning—if the Minár had been a mere adaptation of Rai Pithora's one-storied building—would not a similar boast have decorated its largely sculptured walls to that so triumphantly engraved on the mosque of the same period, where the "twenty-seven Idol temples," the very pillars of which are seen in their varied ornamentation around the square of the court-yard, are monumentally recorded as having contributed to the erection of the dominating religious edifice of the Conqueror's faith?

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[1] Ásár-us-Sunnadeed, p. 13, ٩٠ لمبر كتبه هاى درجه اول لاتهه. Syud Ahmad Khán, who has had great experience in these matters, restores, with some confidence, a continuation of the legend, thus: الامير الامرا الاسفهسالار الاجل الكبير الدوله قطب

[2] Archæological Report, Season of 1862–3, pp. 29, 30, 31.

The celebrated mosque at Ajmír, which, like the edifice at the Kutb, was avowedly built of the materials contributed by the local idol temples,[1] also bears an epigraph dated during the reign of Mu'izz-ud-dín Muhammad bin Sám. Colonel Lees has propounded a translation[2] of this inscription, to the following effect:—

> "(This Masjid was built) during the guardianship of Akbar, the son of Ahmad (by the help of God), the creator, the everlasting, in the month of Zi-Hijjah, five hundred and ninety-six."—General Cunningham, Archæological Report, 1864–5, p. 9.

Táj-ud-dín Ilduz.

Closely connected with the imperial coinages of Mu'izz-ud-dín Muhammad bin Sám are the pieces struck by his Lieutenant *Ilduz*,[3] comprehending the various series in copper, silver, or gold, modified in their legends from time to time according to the relative positions of the master and the trusted slave, who had so won upon his lord's favour that the latter, before his death, had designed to appoint him his successor in Ghazní.[1] The earliest coins bearing the name of Ilduz, are those apparently struck at his original seat of government, *Karmán*, a most important and vital position on the main line of communication between Ghazní and the Indus, on the Bungush route.[2] On

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[1] At Ajmír the Sultán "destroyed the pillars and foundations of the idol temples, and built in their stead mosques and colleges."—Táj-ul-Maásir. Elliot, ii. 215.

[2] The text is not appended.

[3] Properly یلدز *yildiz*, "a star." Elphinstone has "Eldóz."

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[1] Minháj-us-Siráj says the Sultán gave him a نشانهٔ سیاه "a black ensign," and در خاطرش آن بود که ولي عهد غزنين بعد از سلطان او باشد چون سلطان غازي شهادت يافت etc. T. N. Calcutta Text, 133.

[2] The approximate position of this place is Lat. 33° 40′, Long. 70° 20′. A village of the name still exists to mark the ancient site. Ibn Athír refers to it as وشكّانها قوم يقال لهم ابغان and further كرمان مدينة بين غزنة و لهاوور, Other notices are to be found in Yákut's Mushtarik, *sub voce.*; Elphinstone's Cabool, i. 420; ii. 421 (362); H. T. Prinsep, Journ. As. Soc. Bengal, xi. 553; Báber's Memoirs, pp. 150–158; Briggs's Ferishtah, i. 200; Price, Muhammadan Hist. ii. 309; Masson, Baluchistán, etc. i. 114; Wood's Oxus, 151; Elliot's Historians, ii. 221, 551.

Our knowledge of the geography of this part of the country has been largely increased of late by Major Lumsden's "Mission to Kandahár" (in 1858). His party pursued the direct route from Kohát towards Ghazní as far as Piwar. But little information is given in the report with regard to the particular place now called "Kirmán," which appears to be situated off the main line of communication, in a long *darrah* or glen, extending for 15 miles to the W.N.W. between two bold spurs, parallel to the general run of the "*Safíd koh* range." The true dominating position of this key of India seems to have been the fort of *Kurram*, *Koorum*, or *Kurum*, as it is variously written, or *Kúrm*, as it is pronounced; and here arises a minor question of orthography, and a doubt whether, amid all these various renderings of the name from oral data, the correct etymology is not to be found in the extant "*Kurram*" and the plural *Kurramán* [كړمان] with the double Pushtú *r*, as the term for the whole division, instead of the "*Kirmán*," which is occasionally made use of. We have the generic *Kurram* river for the main stream, and "a tributary known as the *Kurramana*," from the Arakzai mountain (p. 50), also the district "*Kurram khas*." The omission of the short vowels in Semitic writing, and the imperfection of the system of duplicating consonants, has always caused an uncertainty in the definition of geographical terms; but all the materials in these moneys he styles himself simply عبد يلدز.[1] On his subsequent issues, when in charge of the metropolis of Ghazní, he accommodates his titles to عبد و مولا تاج الدنيا و الدين يلدز السلطاني

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the present case go to prove that the surviving local pronunciation should rule in determining the question. On the other hand, the name of the Persian province of *Kirmán*, under which general denominational head this place is classed by the Arab geographers, is itself unsettled and indeterminate, the क्रिमि *Krimi* كِرم "a worm," of the Sanskrit interpreters. is altogether against the Greek Καρμανια, or the Latin Carmania; moreover, our latest commentators on the Arabic form of كرمان cannot pronounce decisively whether it should be transliterated as *Kerman* or *Kirman* (Dict. Geogr. de la Perse. C. B. de Maynard. Paris, 1861). The Pehlvi orthography of the official Sassanian coins is واهسر where the simple absence of the expressed *e* presupposes the short *a*. The fort of *Kurram*, situated in about 30° 50′—70° 10′, some 118 miles by road from Kohát (p. 51), standing at an estimated height of 6,000 feet above the sea, is described by Major Lumsden "as the residence of the local governor. It is a square mud enclosure, with faces about 100 yards long, having *burjes*, or round towers, at the angles and in the centre of each face. There is but one gateway, towards the west; and around the interior of the walls are built quarters for the garrison and a bázár; while a second square, with faces parallel to those of the exterior work, forms a citadel, containing the magazines and the quarters of the commandant; a covered way, and ditch which can be made wet or dry at pleasure, runs all round the works; the latter is crossed by a drawbridge; . . . . . the thickness of the walls is not such as to resist artillery, although ample to present an insurmountable obstacle to any ordinary irregular Affghán force" (p. 61). The direct route to Kurmán from Ghazní is variously stated by the Medieval Geographers at three or four days' march. We have no account of the intermediate stages, or the nature of the passes; but, even assuming it at four days' journey, the marching must have been good. Lumsden's map would make the distance, as the crow flies, about 82 miles.

[1] J.R.A.S. ix. 380, No. 9 (with the *Karmán* Bull reverse). A binominal coin, without the usual figured device, with ornamental Kufic letters (Ariana Antiqua, pl. xx. fig. 18), shows an advance upon this unpretentious legend to عبده الملك المظم تاج الدنيا. Similar titles, but omitting the preliminary عبده, and in his own sole name, may be seen in No. 8, J.R.A.S. ix. 380. These last coins have the Horseman reverse.

but in either case reserving the place of honour for his sovereign's laudatory designations (No. 23). There are several varieties of these mintages,[1] but the most interesting phase in the history of these viceregal issues, is the production of honorary posthumous *medals* (for such their unusual weight implies them to be), in the *sole* name of the "Martyred" Monarch, some considerable interval after his death (Nos. 20 and 21),[2] followed by Ilduz's first advance towards virtual independence, still associated with the recognition of the السلطان الشهيد, *the Martyred Sultán,* but marked by the assumption, in his own right, of the titles of السلطان المعظم سلطان الشرق, "The great Sultán, Sultán of the East" (No. 23). But the more direct bearing of the monetary arrangements of Ilduz upon the Dehli series, with which we are chiefly concerned, commences when, having been driven out of Ghazní by 'Alá-ud dín Muhammad Khwárzim Sháh, and attempting to establish himself on Indian soil, he fell readily into the manners and customs of the country, and coined *Dehliwálas,* both in metallic alloy and typical design, assimilated to the prevailing local currencies of mixed silver and copper, whose singular comprehensive range is even now but imperfectly determined. The legends on this particular class of money, though frequently published, have as yet been only imperfectly interpreted.[3] They may, however, be safely transcribed as now printed (under No. 24).

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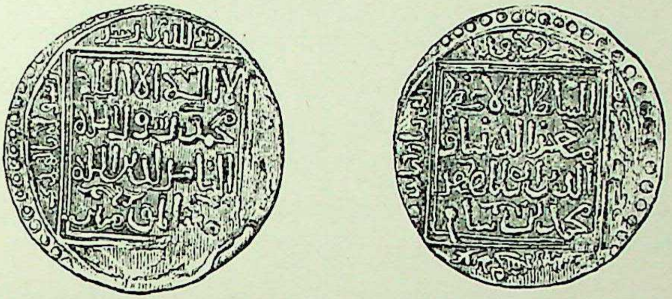
[1] J.R.A.S. ix. p. 379, gold, No. 5; xvii. p. 197. silver, No. 42.

[2] The western tradition speaks of a reserve, on the part of the *'Ulamá,* to recognize a slave king, but home testimony disposes of this fiction in the affirmation of the immediate manumission and recognition of Ilduz by Mahmúd, the head of the family and direct heir of Muhammad bin Sám (T. A. p. 134).

[3] Professor Wilson suggested the reading of "Bulbun," A.A., p. 433, but the tenor of the legend and the mere use of *Abúl Fath,* the special attribute of

No. 20. Gold. Weight, 320 grs. Size 10. Unique in this *medal* form. B.M. Ghazní, A.H. 603.



لا الـــه الا الـــلـــه	السلـطـان الاعظم
محمد رسول الـــلـــه	معز الدنـــيـــاو
الناصر لديـن الـــلـــه	الدين ابو الموظـفـر
اميـــر المومـنـيـن	محمد بـن سـام
Margin, ضرب هذا الدينار ببلدة غزنة في شهور سنه ثاث وستمايه	Margin—in four divisions—containing portions of Surah lxi. 9. Kurán.

No. 21. Gold. Weight, 96 grs. Size 7. Ordinary current form of coin, but with identical legends. B.M. Ghazní, A.H. 603. J.R.A.S. xvii. 196.

No. 21*a* (No. 4, p. 14). Silver coins similar to No. 3, pl. i., dated A.H. 604 A.H. Col. Guthrie.

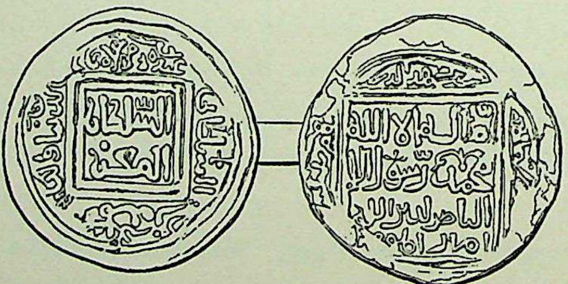
the elder Muhammad bin Sám, would alone determine the association of the coins with the Ghori series; the final ز of يلدز which is frequently omitted, and ordinarily distorted even when defined, is quite obvious on some of the more perfect coins in the British Museum.

No. 22. Gold. Weight, 61 grs Unique. E. I. Collection.
Ghazní, A.H. ?

Central Area.	Full Surface.
السلطان	السلطان المعظم
الشهيد محمد	سلطان الشرق تاج
بن سام	الدنيا و الدين
Margin, هذا ببلده غـ	يلدز
شهور سنه	

Abú Rihán, in his *Ḳánún*, specially designates Ghazní as
غزنين دار ملك المشرق

No. 23. *Silver*. Weight, 108·5 grs. Ghazní, A.H. 610.
Col. Guthrie.



Small square area, with a broad margin.	لااله الاالله
السلطان المعز	محمد رسول الله
	الناصر لدين الله
	امير المومنين
Margin—عبد و مولا تاج الدنيا و—	ضرب هذاالدرهم (ببلدة غزنة ف
الدين يلدز السلطاني	شهور سنه عشر وستماية)

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No. 24. Silver and Copper Weight, 55 grs.

The Chohán Horseman in outline, with Ilduz's *special* symbol, "a star," below the horse. Legend स्रोहमीरः	السلطان المعظم ابو الفتح يلدز السلطان

For engravings, see Prinsep's Essays, xxvi. 45, and Ariana Antiqua, xx. 9.

Before taking leave of the Ghori connexion with India, it is as well to complete the series by a casual notice of the coins of Mahmúd bín *Ghias-ud-dín* Muhammad bin Sám, who succeeded on his father's death (in A.H. 599), under the appointment of his uncle, Mu'izz-ud-dín, to the charge of the provinces of Bust, Furrah, and Isfarar. On the great Sultán's assassination in A.H. 602, Mahmúd became the virtual head of the house, and nominally supreme over all the whole array of family slaves many of whom had now become most powerful and effectively independent rulers in the various sections of the empire.

The general type of execution of these pieces, their die sequence following the coins of Mu'izz-ud-dín (No. 5, *ante*), and the Hindí legends, alike confine them to Indian soil, though it is difficult to fix them to any special locality. The letters of the Sanskrit title follow the models of the Sindí or Punjábi alphabets in the reversal of the lower limb of the ह and the open top of the म. But whether these coins were issued by Ilduz, or by local governors opposed to his pretensions on Muhammad Ghori's death, or even, as is not impossible, minted by Kutb-ud-dín himself, in the outlying districts of Láhor, it would be premature at present to attempt to decide.

No. 25. Silver and Copper. Weight, 48 grs.

Types nearly identical with those of No. 4, pl. i.

The Chohán Horseman. *Legend*—स्री हंमीरः	السلطان الاعظم محمود بن محمد بن سام

Traces of a dotted outer margin, peculiar to the Láhor coins, are visible on the better specimens. For an engraving of a coin of Mahmúd, see J.R.A.S. ix. p. 177. (See also J.R.A.S. xvii. p. 198).

SECOND KING (A.H. 602–607; A.D. 1206–1210.)[1]

The narrative of the life of Kutb-ud-dín has a more important bearing on the traditional history of India, during the time he continued to act in the capacity of General of Muhammad bin Sám, in the preliminary conquest of the land, than attaches to his career after he had attained the honours of kingship. From his actual accession, in 602 A.H., till his death, in 607, with the exception of his momentary conquest of Ghazní from Ilduz, but little worthy of note occurred; and the eastern section of the empire remained much in the state, to which he himself may be said to have brought it, prior to his investiture with the emblems of regal dignity by Mahmúd, the nephew and hereditary successor of Muhammad Ghori.

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[1] The exact orthography of the name has, up to this time, remained an open question. Minháj says—وانگشت خنصر او از دست شکستگي داشت بدان سبب اورا ایبک شل گفتندي—p. 138. This passage has been so mutilated in Ferishtah's text as to make it appear that he was called by "the name of Eibuk, from having his little finger broken" (Briggs, i. p. 190; see also Elliot's Historians, ii. p. 299; and Col. N. Lees, J.R.A.S. vol. iii. N.S. p. 435); whereas it is clear from the passage now given that the شل *Shal*, "disjointed," "maimed," is the epithet, and *Ai-beg* the real name, derived from the Túrki. آی "the moon," and بک "Lord." Modern Turkish بک *Bègh*.

As I am anxious to compress these preliminary notices of the lives and fortunes of the different monarchs, I append in a tabulated form a concise outline of the more prominent events in which Kutb-ud-dín was concerned, derived chiefly from the Persian text of the work of Miháj-us Siráj, a contemporary historian :—

Appointed to Government of Kohrám (pp. 120, 139).
A.H. 587. Captures Mírat and Dehli. (A.H. 588, the overthrow of Prithvi Rája by Muhammad Ghori.)
,, 589. ,, Koel. (A.H. 590. The Sultán defeats Jaichand of Benares and Kanauj.)
,, 590. ,, Tangar (Biána).
,, 593. Expedition against Bhíma deva of Nahrwála.
(Muhammad Bakhtíar Khiljí operates against Behár and Bengal under the auspices of Kutb-ud-dín (pp. 140, 151).
,, 599. Capture of Kálinjar (Táj al Maásir).
,, 602. Proceeds from Dehli to Láhor (in Zil Ka'dah assumes the title of Sultán in form). Contest with Táj-ud-dín Ilduz, and capture of Ghazní, from which he retreats after 40 days' occupation (pp. 140, 134–5).
,, 607. Killed by a fall from his horse, at Láhor (Táj ul Maásir).

Kutb-ud-dín, while acting as Viceroy for Muhammad-bin-Sám, naturally issued the money of his government in the name of his master. No. 10 of this series bears signs of being the produce of the Dehli mint, and probably represents the ordinary coins produced under his auspices. The oriental reverence attaching to the right to coin militates at first sight against any inference that Aibek struck no money bearing his own superscription; at the same time, it is possible that his experience in the realities of kingly power, before he arrived at the nominal rank of an independent sovereign, may have rendered him careless of the mere outward forms of royalty; among which last might well be classed an issue of coin, for the sole purpose of proving the existence of the power of coining.[1]

But many other reasons present themselves to account for what is, up to this time, only negative evidence of such abstention, *i.e.* the absence of any single piece, in the now ample modern collections, bearing his name and title. That he was not averse within safe limits to glorify himself, the Dehli Monumental Inscriptions have already shown; that, Vassal as he was, a quasi vassalage was exacted from a fellow general in Bengal, is equally obvious.[2] But it is evident that a stray and subdued boast on an isolated building in distant Dehli, or an unwritten claim to allegiance from a still more distantly detached commander, whose first equipment was clearly due to his organization, were far less hazardous proceedings than the easily proven treason of coining money in his own name, specimens of which, carrying his obvious condemnation, might have reached his royal master by the very speedy transport of Indian runners.[3] When he himself at last ascended the

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[1] The coin attributed by Marsden to this king is from the mint of Kutb-ud-dín-Mubárak.

[2] Tabakat-i-Násiri, p. 147; Táj ul Maásir, in Elliot's Historians, ii. pp. 332, 366. Some vague rumours of Aibek's want of faith in respect to his full allegiance to his master, seem to crop-up, incidentally, in the local traditions which reached Ibn Batutah in his journeys in the land at so long an interval after the incidents involved (iii. 163).

[3] In Persian history, during the Sassanian period, we have a curious example of what coins could do, where it was desired falsely to prove an act of rebellion—nothing more was necessary than to stamp coin in the name of the suspected party.

The origin of this incident was as follows:—Bahrám Chobín, the general of Hormazd, the son of Naushírwán the Great, of Persia, after defeating the Túrks, under Sábah and his son, near Balkh, sent a portion (one fifth) of the immense throne at Láhor, his circumstances do not seem to have been very prosperous; all the available wealth of India had already been concentrated at Ghazní,[1] and he himself was possessed of an exaggerated propensity to Eastern munificence, which earned for him the titles of *Lak Bakhsh*, "giver of Laks,"[2]

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booty obtained on the occasion to the king, his master, in whose mind doubts were created by hostile counsellors as to the good faith of Bahrám in the matter, and harsh measures were contemplated against him; accordingly, to meet this movement, he adopted the expedient of coining money in his distant camp, bearing the name of the king's son and heir, Khusrú Parvíz, who had himself no thoughts of rebellion. These pieces he forwarded in large sums to Madain, and other sections of the empire, a demonstration which directly led to suspicion in the father's mind, followed very naturally by the flight of the compromised Khusrú from the capital into Azarbaiján, and ultimately resulting, after certain intermediate phases, in the absolute dethronement of the reigning monarch.

Tabari's account of the details is as follows:—Bahram Chobin—

فرمود تا صد هزار درم و دینار بسکه نو بنام خسرو پرویز بزدند و به
بازرگانان داد تا بمداین بردند و بدان اجناس خریدند چون درم و
دینار در دست مردم پراگنده شد خبر بهرمزد رسید بر پرویز خشم
گرفت و گفت بزندگي من در ملک طمع کردهٔ و چون ولي عهد
بودي چندان صبر نداشتي که من بگذرم و نوبت بتو رسد و ببهرام
فرستادي تا سکه بنام تو کرد

MS. Asiatic Society, Bengal. This is not a very first class text, but it is sufficiently intelligible. See also De Sacy, Mem. Sur Div. Antiquités de la Perse, 895; Masaudi, French Edition, ii. 214.

[1] از جواهر در خزینهٔ غزنین ازیک جنس الماس که نفیس‌ترین جوهرها است یک هزار پانصد من موجود است دیگر جواهر و نقودرا برین قیاس مي باید کرد p. 125. See also Briggs' Ferishtah, i. p. 187.

[2] بخشش او همه لک لک و کشتن او همه لک لک Tabakát-i-Násiri, Calcutta text, pp. 138, 149, 166.

and *Hátim Sáni,* "a second Hátim *Táï,*" which was anything but calculated to leave him an overflowing treasury.

I revert to Muhammad bin Sám's coinages in order to notice his more peculiarly Indian issues, with reference to their bearing upon the present inquiry. His conquests, it may be remarked, were always associated with an adaptation, more or less complete, of the local currency; hence we find the peculiar type of the *Ghori* Horseman retained in its own locality;[1] the distinctive *Kurmán* outline of the Bull of Siva maintains its identity through succeeding foreign dynasties;[2] the *Láhor* mintages of Khusrú Malik had already lost their typical emblems, and subsided into the use of simple literal legends in the Persian character;[3] but Ajmír, Dehli, Multán, and Sind each preserved but little modified, a *Tughra* outline of the early device of the first Brahman kings of Kabul,[4]—the Cavalier with the reverse of the *Sacred Bull,* a type which survived in full distinctness at Bamíán to the days of Alá-ud-dín Muhammad Khwárizmi, and in the Horseman obverse descended to Jelál-ud-dín, only to disappear under his Moghul conquerors.[5] The Indian currencies of the four localities above mentioned varied less in the typical details than in the forms of the alphabet ruling in each division of the country, and the care and artistic effect of the die execution.

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[1] No. 6, pl. i.; also J.R.A.S. xvii. pp. 198, 205.

[2] The Kurmán Bull was peculiar; instead of the recumbent posture of the prototype, it is represented as standing up, the legs having a very wooden appearance. The word کرمان *Kurmán* is occasionally introduced on the side of the animal. J.R.A.S. xvii. 205.

[3] Khusrú Sháh (A.H. 547–555) is the last king who uses the recumbent Bull on the Láhor coinage. J.R.A.S. vol. ix. pl. iii. No. 153.—Khusrú Malik's coins may be seen in Ariana Antiqua, pl. xx. fig. 16, and J.R.A.S. ix. pp. 373–4.

[4] J.R.A.S. ix. p. 177; Prinsep's Essays, pl. xxv. vol. i. p. 299; Ariana Ant. pl. xix. figs. 1–14.

[5] J.R.A.S. ix. plate p. 177, No. 23, and pp. 381–2; J.R.A.S. xvii. p. 203, fig. 10, illustrative plate.

I do not propose to follow these peculiarities in any detail, but I wish to bring prominently to notice that up to the date of the death of Muhammad bin Sám (in A.H. 602) this *Dehliwál* or *Chital* currency sufficed for all the wants of the Indian population, and that, as far as can be discovered, no money in gold or silver was coined in the newly conquered provinces, with the exception of the equally imitative and ephemeral sequence of Kanauj gold. This circumstance directly brings us again to confront the question as to whether Kutb-ud-dín Aibek really issued coin in his own name? or if he contented himself with the ample circulating media he had already, as local governor, put forth in the name of his Suzerain? Kutb-ud-dín, as has been noticed, was celebrated for his liberality and profusion, and, doubtless, much of the wealth of India had recently gone to enrich the foreign invaders, of every class, quite apart from what eventually found its way into the Imperial treasury. His fellow Sípahsálár in Bengal, Muhammad Bakhtíar Khiljí, seems to have uttered no coin; and we have seen the reserve exercised by Táj-ud-dín Ilduz in abstaining from an independent issue, even to the extent of perpetuating his master's name on the currency long after his assassination. Minháj us-Siráj, writing as a contemporary, has left us a touching little episode in reference to these very matters. He tells us that Mu'iz-ud-dín in speaking, on one occasion, of the failure of his line in default of male offspring, regarded the circumstance as a matter of merely subordinate regret, adding, "have I not thousands of children in my Túrki slaves who will succeed to my kingdoms, and after my death will continue the *Khutbah* (the public prayer) in my name?" And the author goes on to

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relate how, up to the date of his own writing in A.H. 658, such respect had been shown to the great Sultán's memory.[1] There is no doubt that the most authoritative historical statements concur in representing that Kutb-ud-dín Aibek did coin money in his own name, but the assertions come only in the conventional association of the right to coin as one of the cherished and sentimental attributes of royalty.[2] The removal of his court from Dehli to Láhor[3] may have had something to do with the non-appearance of money marked by his name, and the extreme crudity of the very rare pieces of Arám Sháh,[1] with their exceptional Persian legends, might also be taken to imply a disused or unpracticed metropolitan mint, were it not that there is cause to assign these issues to the provincial governments of Gwalior or Kálinjar.

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[1] برلفظ مبارک آن بادشاه [معزالدین] طاب ثراه رفت که دیگر سلاطین‌را یک فرزند یا دو فرزند باشد مرا چندین هزار فرزند است یعني بندگان ترک من که مملکت من میراث ایشان خواهد بود و بعد از من خطبهٔ ممالک باسم من نگاه خواهند داشت و همچنان شد که بر لفظ مبارک آن بادشاه غازي رفت که بعد ازو کل ممالک هندوستان‌را تا بغایت تحریر این سطور که سنه ثمان و خمسین و ستمائه است محافظت نمودند و مي نمایند رجا بفضل حق تعالی [وغیره]—Tabakát-i-Násiri, p. 132, Calcutta Text.

[2] و مدت ملک او از اول فتح دهلي تا بدین وقت بیست سال بود و عهد سلطنت او با چتر و خطبه و سکه مدت چهار سال و کسري بود—. T. N. p. ۱۴۱.

[3] وچون سلطان غازي محمد سام طاب ثراه شهادت یافت سلطان غیاث الدین محمود محمد سام که برادرزادهٔ سلطان معزالدین بود قطب الدین‌را چتر فرمود و لقب سلطاني داد او در شهور سنه اثنین

Kutb-ud-dín had so long effectively wielded the powers of king that the death of the Suzerain Sultán made little real change in his position; and holding the essentials, he may well have extended but slight attention to the minor demonstrations and manifestoes otherwise needed for a newly-made monarch. Had Kutb-ud-dín left behind him numismatic records in the higher metals, commemorative of his momentary occupation of Ghazní, in hostile opposition to Ilduz,[2] which was essentially a contest for kingship, it would have been quite consistent with probabilities: but the absence of purely Indian money bearing his stamp, under all the circumstances now stated, need cause no particular astonishment.

و ستمائه از دهلي عزيمت لوهور كرد و در روز سه شنبه هزدهم ماه ذي
القعده سنه أثنين و ستمائه بر تخت سلطنت لوهور جلوس فرمود

T.N. p. ۱۴۰

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[1] Nos. 11, 12, pl. i. The other face of these coins is an imitation of, if not an absolute employment of, a ready prepared die of one class of Muhammad bin Sáms' *Hindi* money.

[2] The period extended over forty days.—Minhȧj us-Siráj, p. 135, Calcutta Text.

THIRD KING (A.H. 607 ; A.D. 1210).

Árám succeeded his father, Aibek; but after a reign circumscribed in its geographical limits, of barely one year, during which he lost many of the provinces of his nominally inherited kingdom, he was defeated and deposed by Altamsh, at that time governor of Budáon. Minháj-us-Siráj mentions that at Árám's death Hindustán was divided into four principalities—Sind, in the possession of Násir-ud-din Kubá chah; Dehli and its subordinate divisions belonged to Shams-ud-dín Altamsh; Lakhnauti was held by the Khiljí chiefs, 'Ali Mardán having thrown off his allegiance on the death of Kutb-ud-dín; and Láhor remained a subject of contention between the rulers of Sind, Dehli, and Ghazní.

No. 26. (No. 13, Plate I.)

Copper, 54 grs. Very rare. (Kálinjar Mint ?)

Obverse, in imperfectly formed Persian letters—

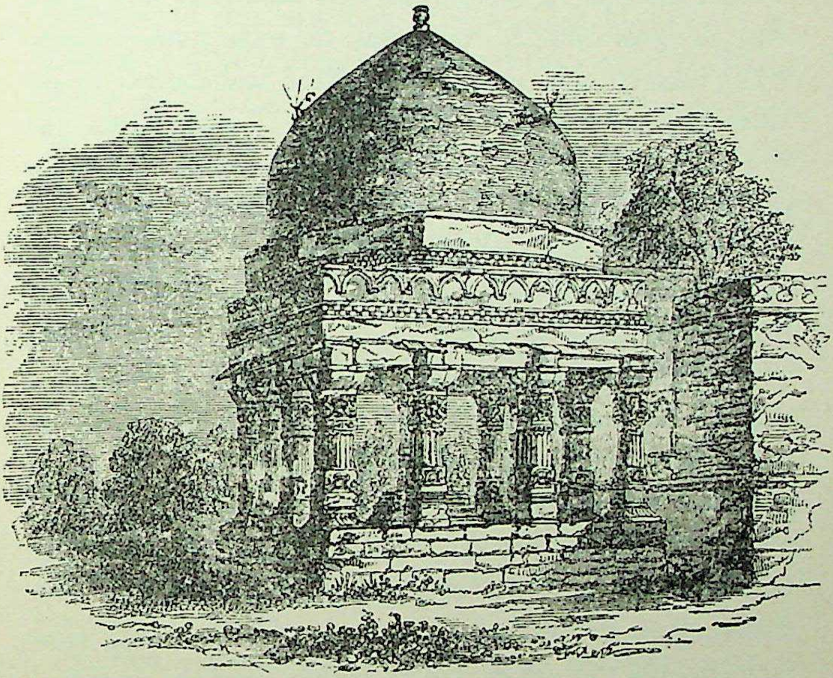
ابو المظفر آرام شاه السلطان

The victorious Arám Sháh, the Sultán.

Reverse—Rude traces of the figure of the horseman, similar to the outline of the device on the Narwar coins.

No. 27. (No. 14, Plate I.) Copper.

Obverse—The same as that of No. 26.



Pathan Tomb at Sepree, near Gwalior.

From a sketch by J. Fergusson, Esq.

"As a general rule, the Pathan tombs are complete examples of the Saracenic style, and show but slight traces of Hindu design. But this was not always the case; for, as in their earlier Mosques, they sometimes appropriated the remains of Jaina architecture to save themselves the trouble of erecting the whole building from original materials. These compound edifices are frequently composed of only four pillars, supporting a small dome; but more generally of twelve, arranged, as the Jaina domes usually are, in an octagon worked into a square, supporting a dome of slightly pointed form."—Fergusson, ii. 654.

Fourth King (a.h. 607–633; a.d. 1210–1235).

Shams-ud-dín-Altamsh, the greatest of the Slave Kings, the slave of a slave: rising, however, to be general and son-in-law to his master, he finally superseded that master's son in the legitimate succession to the throne of Dehli. From his accession, in 607, with the exception of his victory over Ilduz, who was in possession of Ghazní and other provinces, and an attempt to subdue his own brother-in-law, Kubáchah, king of Sind, his reign was, for some time, comparatively tranquil, and remained, in effect, undisturbed by the threatened advance of the Moguls under Changiz Khán. In 614 he finally overcame Kubáchah, and annexed Sind to the empire. Subsequently the Governor of Bengal and Behár was brought to acknowledge the supremacy of the central monarchy of Dehli, which had been disclaimed by Bakhtíar Khiljí's successors since the death of Aibek. The Sultán was employed for some years in the subjection of those portions of the country which had remained independent, or, having been conquered, had revolted; and, before his death, Altamsh reigned over all Hindustán, with the exception of some few insulated portions. The powers of Muhammadan Sultáns, as rulers, as indeed those of all lordships of Hindustán, from its earliest history, seem to have been most indeterminate: at times, and in certain districts, extending to absolute possession of soil and people on the part of the king, and full and perfect subjection on the part of the local governors and those they ruled over; liable, however, at any moment, to endless fluctuations, as the strength of the Sovereign, the power of the provincial Governors, or the spirit of independence of the people rose or fell. In other cases, allegiance confessedly extended only so far as a nominal recognition of supremacy, or even a tacit abstinence from direct denial of such; suffice it to say, that among the multifarious tenures, and the many changes Imperialism was constantly liable to, one general rule of absolutism prevailed—that the length of the sword was the limit of the sway. During the course of Altamsh's reign, he received a diploma of investiture from

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the Khalif of Baghdád, a most important recognition to a Muhammadan Sovereign, and one that is remarkable as being the earliest notice taken by the arrogant Court of Baghdád of this new Indo-Muhammadan kingdom.[1] Muhammad bin Sám, though he adopted the titles of the Khalifs on his coins, did so probably not so much with reference to his Indian dominions as in virtue of his succession to the throne of Ghazní, the monarchs of which dynasty had for centuries been acknowledged as orthodox Musalmáns, and their subjects recognized as part of the flock of the Commander of the Faithful. The Indian conquests constituted, during the lifetime of Muhammad bin Sám, only a secondary portion of the whole Ghazní empire. Shortly after his death, however, when the Indian provinces were erected into a separate kingdom, they ceased to have any dependence on the rulers of the countries whence the line of their newly installed kings had come. Altamsh died in 634, and was succeeded by his son.

Neither Oriental authors nor Indian moneyers seem to have had any very definite idea of the correct orthography of the name of this king. Waṣṣáf gives it as Alitmish. Rashíd-ud-dín, Mirkhond, and the author of the Khulásat-ul-Akhbár, all differ slightly in their mode of spelling the word; and the masters of the Dehli mint will be seen to have been as little critical. The indecision of these last is somewhat to be excused, seeing that the origin of the title in question, in its Túrki form, is still indeterminate. Gen. Briggs supposed that the name was derived from اَلتَّمِش (in modern Turkish), "sixty," which number of *Tománs* he had once realized in the slave market; but Badáuni gives a very different version of the derivation of the name.

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[1] "Chems eddîn Lalmich (لَلَّمِش i. p. 363) fut le premier qui régna dans la ville de Dihly avec un pouvoir indépendant. Avant son avénement au trône, il avait été l'esclave de l'émîr Kothb eddîn Aibec."—Ibn Batoutah, iii. p. 164.

وجه تسمه بایلتتمش آنست که تولدوي درشب گرفت ماه واقع
شده بود وترکان اینچنین مولدرا ایلتتمش میگویند[1]

Outline of the Rise of Altamsh.

(Following the Calcutta Persian text of Minháj us Siráj, p. 168, *et seq.*)[2]

Purchased with another Túrk, called Aibak Tamgháj, for the sum of 1,00,000 jitals, by Kutb-ud-dín, at Dehli.
Governor of Gwalior on its capture in 592 (p. 169).
,, of Barn (Bulandshahar).
,, of Budáon.

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[1] I have submitted this passage, with the entire range of variants, to Mr. Redhouse, in the hope that he might solve the difficulty of the origin of the name. His reply is not conclusive, though its grammatical criticisms may chance to promote an eventual solution of the enigma. "Taking Badáuni's paragraph as text, I may point out that though آی means 'moon,' and تُتْمِشْ may stand for تُوتْمِشْ 'he took, seized, eclipsed,'—the latter word, in the passive form, تُوتُلْمِشْ 'it was eclipsed,' etc., being always employed to express the phenomenon of an eclipse, as آی تُوتُلْمِشْ 'the moon is or was eclipsed,' آی تُوتُلْمَسِی 'an eclipse of the moon,'—still the ل of our word is out of the required place. Badáuni's remark may be one of those eastern guesses one so often meets with, and really beside the mark; but taking it as it stands, and weighing also the Sanskrit transcription खितितिमिसि, I would suggest that the ل has become misplaced by the transcribers, and that the name was really one of the two passive compounds shown above, the و being dropped in writing, as is often found in Indian Turki Lexicons. This would make آیتتلمِش or آیتتلمَسِی; this latter being nearer to the Sanskrit transcription, and to the Persian گرفتِ ماه, viz., '*áy-tutulmasi*, eclipse of the moon.' To be correct, this should be written in two words آی تتلمَسِی; and more correctly still, with a و, as آی توتلمَسِی."

[2] See also Elliot's Historians, ii. 322, etc.

Summary of the Events of Altamsh's Reign.

A.H.	607.	Accession. Táj-ud-dín Ilduz sends him, in delegated sovereignty, a چتر و دورباش (Umbrella and Baton). Násir-ud-dín Kubáchah disputes his title to Láhor, Tibarhind, (Sirhind), and Kohrám.
,,	612.	Táj-ud-dín, driven into Hindustán by the Khwárizmis, is defeated, captured, and imprisoned at Budáon, where he died, as his tomb testified.
,,	614.	Násir-ud-dín Kubáchah defeated. Government of Lahor confided to Násir-ud-dín Mahmúd, the heir apparent.
,,	618.	Jelál-ud-dín Khwárizmi, defeated by Changiz Khán on the Indus, attempts to establish himself in Hindustán, but is forced to take refuge in Sind.
,,	622.	Altamsh proceeds to Bengal, and receives the submission of Ghiás-ud-dín Khiljí.
,,	623.	Rantambhor captured.
,,	624.	Mandor (in the Siwálik Hills) captured.
,,	625.	Uchh surrenders. Násir-ud-dín drowns himself at Bhakar (pp. 144, 173).
,,	626.	(In Rabí-ul-awwal) the Emissary of the Khalif Al Mustansir arrives at Dehli.
,,	626.	(Jumád-ul-awwal). News of the death of the Sultán's eldest son, Násir-ud-dín Mahmúd, reaches the capital.
,,	627.	Disturbances in Bengal in consequence. 'Alá-ud-dín Jáni appointed to Lakhnauti (p. 174).
,,	629.	Siege of Gwalior: captured, in Safar 630, after eleven months' resistance.
,,	631–2.	Expedition to Málwa, Bhilsa,[1] and Ujain.
,,	633.	,, towards Multán.
,,	,,	(20, Sh'abán), Altamsh dies.

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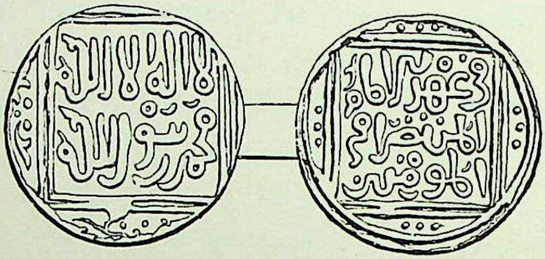
[1] The Butkhána, the work of 300 years, noticed, its partial destruction, etc.

No. xxviii.

Silver. Weight, 149·7 grs. Very rare. Col. Guthrie.
(Prinsep coin. B.M. Weight, 164 grs.)



OBVERSE.	REVERSE.
Square area.	Square area within a circle.
لا الـه الا الـلـــه	في عهّد الامام
مُحمد رسُوْل الـلـه	المستنصر امير
	المؤمنـــين
Margin, ornamental scroll.	Legend obliterated.

I had, from the first, supposed that these exceptional coins were primarily designed to mark the occasion of the arrival of the Khalif's diploma, recognizing the new Muslim Empire of India—at Dehli, on the 23rd of the first month of A.H. 626; but the absence of any date on the single specimen I was able to quote in 1846, and the uncertainty with regard to the period of issue of the pieces giving the full and complete titles of the Sultán, made me hesitate to assume that these coins, bearing the sole and isolated name of the reigning Khalif of Baghdád, constituted the veritable commencement of the silver coinage of the Dehli Pathans. I now advance the idea with more confidence, not only on the ground of the absence of all examples of any local silver pieces anterior to A.H. 626, but upon the relative testimony of the writers of the day, as I observe that Hasan Nizámí, the author of the Táj-ul-Maásir, refers his money values nearly exclusively to *Dilliwáls*, while Minháj-us-Siráj, who had more extensive and later experiences, reckons his totals in *chitals* and *tankas* of silver (pp. 162-4, 316). The Chitals I conclude to be merely a continuation of the old *Hindú* Dehliwáls under the more popular and less exclusively metropolitan name, without however accepting any necessary identity between the palpable coins and the money of account.

It is quite true that the Táj ul Maásir alludes to Dirhams and Dinárs,[1] but these were the names of the current coins of the conqueror's own land, and their mention was merely conventional, and in no wise designed to mark any fixed variety of piece, as may be seen from the contemporaneous reproduction of the gold currency of Kanauj (No. 17) in the full traditional fabric and intrinsic value of the locality to which it belonged. Moreover, it may be seen how distinctly the *Tankah* was the accepted and recognized term in India, by the fact that the great Mahmúd of Ghazní, while continuing to make use of the ordinary mint designation of *Dirham*, in the Kufic legend, of his new Láhor coinage of "Mahmúdpúr,"[2] admits the corres-

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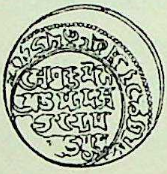
[1] Hasan Nizámi says, for instance, in reference to the occasion of the capture of Benares by Muhammad bin Sám, that the face of the dinár and dirham was adorned with the name and blessed titles of the king (Elliot's Historians, ii. 223). And again, on Kutb ud dín's accession, "From Peshawur downwards the public prayers and coinage of dinárs and dirhams throughout the whole country, full of rivers, received honor and embellishment from his name and royal titles" (ii. 236).

[2] Albirúni, M. Reinaud's مَيْنَذْ هوكُور قصبة لَوْهاوُرْ Fragments, pp. 88, 114; Albirúni, MS. Kánún مسدكماور Sir H. Ellio copy; Elliot's Historians, i. 62; MSS. *Baihaki* مندككور, variant ككبور; Sprenger's Map, No. 13 مندككاور Post und Reiserouten des Orients, Leipzig, 1864; Juynboll, Lex. Geo. مُنْدُوشَر, Dozy مندكور.

These coins have such special claims upon our attention, under many varied ponding word टका *taka* (or टंका *tanka*) in the Sanskrit legend on the reverse.

aspects, that I transcribe the latest revised version of the legends, and reproduce an illustrative wood-block of the Hindi face.

Silver. Size, 4¼; weight, 45·4 grs. Struck at Mahmúdpúr, A.H. 418, 419.

OBVERSE.	REVERSE.
अव्यक्तमेक *Abyaktamek.*	القادر لااله الا الـلـه
मुहम्मद अ *Muhammad A–*	محمد رسول الـلـه
	الـلـه
वतार नृप *vatár Nripa–*	يمين الدولة و امين الملة
ति महमूद *ti Mahmúd.*	محمود
“The invisible (is) one. “Muhammad incarnation. “King Mahmúd.”	بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بمحمودپور سنة ثمان عشرة واربعماية

Margin—अव्यक्तीय ङामे अयं टंकं तता महमूदपुर संवती ४१८

Abyaktíya ñáme ayam ṭankam tatá Mahamúdpur Samvatí 418.

In the name of the invisible (B'ismillah) this tanka, thus [corresponding with the Arabic بِ, Persian به "in"], (struck) at Mahmúdpúr, Samvat 418.

Other examples, with the Kufic date of 419 A.H., vary the marginal legend as follows:—

अयं टंकं महमूदपुर घटे तता जिकीयेर संवती ४१९

Ayam ṭankam Mahmúdpur ghaṭe tatá jikíyera Samvatí 419.

This tanka struck at Mahmúdpúr then [in] the victorious Samvat 419.

I do not attempt either to correct the orthography or endeavour to reconcile these vernacular transcripts with the demands of Sanskrit grammar. It is obvious that—as is the case with records in the areas—the local legends on the margins are intended to be reproductions of the ruling Kufic context; as such, the Hindi version may be said to have its intentional meaning already declared. The singular orthography of ङाम for नामे and तता for तथा, which even thus amended is scarcely intelligible, as well as the somewhat forced meaning that

In consecutive accordance with this suggestion of an

has to be applied to घटे, are all open to criticism; and still more so is the rendering of जिकोयेर as victorious; but the जि is in its fit place, and there are many inflexions of कृ *kri*, "to do," क्रिया "an act," *Hindustani* کرنا "to do" (کیا *kiyá*, "done," etc.), which might fall in with the present loose conditions in so popular an expression as "Victorious Samvat." An association which is the more natural, as this particular type of money seems to have been introduced for the purpose of marking Mahmúd's final triumph, in getting possession of Láhor, a conquest which was not achieved so early as has usually been supposed.

On previous occasions, when I had fewer specimens to depend upon, and none that gave the written *Kufic* counterpart of the *Hindi* figured date for 418, I read the unit figure as २ = 2. I now see that it is in effect an oddly shaped ८ = 8, and that the 9 is formed, like many of our modern figures for the same number, by an addition to the 8 itself, thus ९; the ४ is the ordinary form, and the १ follows the proper Kashmiri outline of that figure. The Kufic dies for these coins must have been entrusted to a first-class artist, for they are uniformly excellently fashioned and correctly marked in the details; whereas the legends on the Hindi face of the coinage vary considerably in their execution, and the orthography and the forms of the characters themselves are crude and uncertain in the extreme. Nevertheless these brief records contribute several valuable indications of the advance made in the Sanskrit palæography of the period.

The derivation of the term *Tanka* is uncertain; Erskine (whose note on the subject is appended) supposed that it came from the Chaghatai Turki for *white*, but this is scarcely probable. The word may have been of Turánian origin, very early identified with Indian speech; we have it in various forms in the modern vernaculars. Wilson remarks that *ṭaká* is "in all the dialects laxly used for money in general," as *ṭanká* is "a stamped coin in general, but the latter word also meant a weight of silver equal to four *máshas*. In Telugu, *ṭankam* is "a coin formerly current, but now used only in account, equal to four silver *fanams*. There was a gold *ṭankam* and a copper coin similarly named, both obsolete. Hence, we have टङ्कशाला *ṭankaṣálá*, "a mint;" but, on the other hand, we have टङ्क and *ṭanka* (Canarese), *tincal*, "Borax," which may re-associate the term with "white." Erskine says, "It may be added, that the word *tanka* or *tanga* is of Chaghatái Túrki origin, being derived from *tang*, which in that language means *white*; having the same origin as the asper (from *ἄσπρος*, white) of the modern Greeks, the Ak-cha of the Osmanli Turks, the *tátari* of the Mingrelians, and many other monies, all originally signifying *white* (Josa fa Barbaro in Ramusio, ii. 96). The *tengì* of Khwárizm would appear to have been worth the fourth of a crown (Astley's Voyages, iv. 484). At the present day in Persia the *tanga* seems to be worth only 6*d*. (J. B. Fraser, Travels in Persia, p. 81)."—Erskine's Hist. India, i. 546. "21 *tungas* = *tilla*, or 11*s*. 9·097*d*." (Bokhára Money Tables, J. A. S. Bengal, vii. 898. On the other hand, Vambéry gives a totally different word for "white" in Chaghatai, keeping the تنکه *tenge* to the simple meaning of "Monnaie d'argent." The Russian Деньги *Dengi*.

initial era for the purely Muhammadan coinage of the new Dehli empire—incident to hierarchical recognition from the Court of Baghdád—there follows naturally an explanation of what has heretofore constituted a difficulty in determining the application of the titles of *Khalif* and *Amír ul Muminín*, expressed in *Hindi* characters on certain classes of *Dehliwáls*,[1] which are now seen to refer to the "Commander of the Faithful," whose fame extended throughout the Muslim

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[1] The primary intention of the words स्री हंमीरः *Srí Hammírah* occurring on the newly adapted currency of the local Sovereigns of India (Nos. 5, 10, 11, 12, etc.), has been the subject of controversy since the first publication of specimens of these pieces by James Prinsep, in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for 1835 (vol. iv. pp. 679–682, the original text of which is reproduced in his Essays, vol. i. pp. 305–310). Prinsep himself was disposed to identify the *name* (as he supposed it to be), with that of the Hamíra of Mewar, who succeeded to the throne in A.D. 1300. Prof. Wilson, on the other hand (Ariana Antiqua, p. 432), imagined that the designation belonged to *the* "Hamíra of Hánsi, in the time of Prithvi Raja" (p. 60, *infrà*). My own early impressions induced me to infer that *the title* was intended to replace the conventional *Amír al Muminín*, so constant on the one surface of all orthodox Muhammadan issues (J.R.A.S. ix. (1846), p. 191; Prinsep's Essays, i. 331; Elliot's Historians, ii. pp. 8, 428). This conclusion was contested by Sir H. Elliot and General Cunningham (Elliot's Index to the Muhammadan Historians of India, published at Agra in 1849, p. 152), and formed the subject of a second Note by the former, written many years ago, but which I considered it my duty to publish exactly as it was found among his papers, unaltered and uncommented upon (Elliot's Historians, ii. 403). In now reviewing the whole question, under the new evidence, in its varied aspects, that has been imported into the inquiry by coins, inscriptions, and the large accession to directly contemporaneous history, I have no hesitation in surrendering my early theory. Much of the incidental testimony latterly brought to light, and which seemed, at first sight, calculated to support the identification with the titular designation of the Khalif, when examined more closely is found to admit of a directly contrary interpretation, as I myself had suggested in 1858. I allude especially to the appearance of the term षलीफ *Shalipha*, which succeeds to the exact position on the coins previously occupied by the *Sri Hammira*, and to the altered aspect that coincidence bears, when taken in connection with the more clear and emphatic definition of the title of the Pontiff, at a more opportune moment, under the improved orthography of "Srí Amír alm," etc., above described.

The coin No. 18 definitively connects the prefix *Ṣrí Hamira* with Muhammad bin Sám, and the Pálam Inscription (*infrà*) conclusively determines the continued world, even to the Delta of the Ganges.[1] The earliest pieces of this description, which were designed to convey to the subject races of Hindustán, in the letters of their own speech, the title and designation of the supreme Pontiff of their conqueror's faith, bear on the one face, above the conventional horseman of the first Brahman kings of Kábul the words श्री षलीफ *Sri Shalípha* (Khalífa), and on the other surface. distributed around the Bull of Siva (whose image has nearly disappeared in the interwoven lines of the later *tughras*), the curtailed legend श्री अमीरलिम .. *Srí Amír alím* .., an apparently crude reproduction of the Arabic امیرالمومنین. To these, again, succeed, in due order, the coins of similar fabric issued during the reign of Alá-ud-dín Mas'aud,[2] which retain the षलीफ *Shalífa* on the one side, while the more ample title of the "Chief of the Faithful" is replaced by the King's own regnant designation, following, in so far, the practice of his grandfather, who had very early superseded the exclusive mention of the ruling Pontiff.

To complete the evidence of the intentional use of the title of the Khalif on the lower coinage, I am now able to quote the record of Mustansir's name in Hindi as the counterpart of the Arabic definition of his designation and official recognition on the Silver Coins, No. 28.

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use of the royal title of *Ṣrí Hammíra*, in its application to the then reigning monarch, in contradistinction to the various honorary epithets associated with the names of his predecessors. And, on the other hand, the seeming anomaly of the indifferent employment of the higher and lower titles of *Sultán* and *Amír* is found to be sanctioned by historical usage from the times of Mahmúd of Ghazní and his son Masa'ud. See *Albiruni* (Reinaud's Fragments, pp. 135, 154); *Baihaki*, Elliot's Historians, ii. pp. 65, etc.

[1] Coins of Násir-ud-dín Mahmúd *Sháh* of Bengal, and numerous specimens of the Lakhnauti mintages of Riziah.—Plate i. No. 27 of this work, and Initial Coinage of Bengal, pp. 38, 42, and coin 28 *suprà*.

[2] Prinsep's Essays on Indian Antiquities, vol. i. 332; Elliot's Historians, ii. 248.

The Khalif Mustansir billah.

No. xxviii *a*. Copper. Weight. 53 grs. My cabinet.

No. 28 *b*. Copper, with a small proportion of silver. General Cunningham. Two coins. Weight, 52 grs.

HORSEMAN.	BULL.
स्री षलीफः	? म . . मुस्तंसिर बल
Srí Shalíphah.	. . . *m* . . *Mustansir billah.*

These legends are very imperfect, and have only been restored from the three specimens cited above. The compound letters मुस्त, *must*, are palpable and unmistakeable on two coins, and the सि *si* is legible on both General Cunningham's examples; the concluding विल is so far conjectural that the ल alone is positively apparent on one coin; and what I have given as र *r* may perchance stand for the short *i* in billah.

Shams-ud-dín Altamsh.

No. xxix. (New variety. No. i. Pl. vii.) Col Guthrie. *Silver.* Weight, 158 grs. A.H. 632.

Circular area.	Square area, double lines.
لا اله الا اللـــه	السّلطان المـــعـــظـــم
محمد رسول الله	شمْسُ الدنـيـــا والدين
المستنصر بامر الله	ابُو المظـــفـــر التمش
امير المـــومنين	السّلطان ناصر امير المومنين
Margin—اثنى و ثلثين و ستمايه	Margin, four small scroll ornaments.

No. xxx. (No. 13, pl. i.)

Prinsep collection. B.M. Silver. Weight, 163·5 grs.

Three new specimens, weighing severally 150·, 160·, and (an oxydized coin), 145· grs. Col. Guthrie.

Legends similar to No. 29, with the exception of the الاعظم "the greatest," which replaces the المعظم "the great," of the former. Many of these coins concur in the faulty rendering of the real name of the Khalif المستنصر بالله Al mustansir *billah*, by بامر الله *b'amr illah.* The place of mintage is illegible, but two specimens retain traces of an imperfect date, thus سنه ثلثين . . . في شهور.

No. xxxi. Silver. Weight, 168·5 grs. A.H. 632.

Obverse as No. 30, omitting the *Násir Amír Al Muminín.*

Reverse as No. 28. *Square* area.

Margins, alike on both faces,

ضرب هذا الفضة فى . . سنه اثنى و ثلثين و ستمايه

The fourth trial-piece of Altamsh seems to have satisfied the mint authorities, and to have been officially adopted as the standard monetary type of the Indian Empire, and as such continued to be issued in the same form, and with but slightly varied legends, by the kings who came after him, in unbroken sequence, for a period of more than ninety years. The gold coinage, which makes its appearance later, is clearly framed upon the same model, being identical in weight and design, though necessarily slightly reduced in bulk. Such of Altamsh's silver coins as have reached us are obviously of impure metal, an imperfection to have been expected in the issues of a newly organized mint, but his successors very early secured a high degree of fineness in both the gold and silver coinages—indeed, as far as the metallurgical science of the day extended, they aimed at absolute purity. The real pervading currency of the realm, however, obviously consisted of the time-honored, and widely dispersed *billon* money, and the subordinate copper pieces, which the Muslims inherited with their new dominions from the local princes. In addition to the continued issue of but slightly modified types of Dehliwáls with the traditional Bull and Horseman device, Altamsh introduced abundant varieties of small change. I need not recapitulate the minor peculiarities of these novelties, though many of them are now for the first time published; but the incidental gradations of the Hindi legends on some of the provincial currencies illustrate, in a curious degree, the slow progress of the effective conquest of, or real submission by, the native dynasties, and occasionally disclose an inconveniently premature boast on the part of the historians of the invading race. One of the most instructive series, in this respect, is the coinage of the heads of the Rajput nationalities, whose feudal attachments and heroic contests have been embalmed in the bardic chants of their own tribes, and whose folk-lore and traditions have been garnered up and enthusiastically commented on by Col. Tod,[1] who so truly identified himself with the home life and familiar institutions of these peculiar races. Our knowledge of the more essentially antiquarian remains, extant inscriptions, and legendary history of some of the older states of Rájputána has lately been materially advanced by the patient investigations, traced site by site, and the resulting comprehensive archæological reports of Gen. Cunningham, addressed to the Government of India; the best testimony of my appreciation of which is expressed in the numerous extracts and references incorporated in the following pages.

The coinage of northern India, as we have seen, at and prior to the invasion of Muhammad bin Sám, consisted of *Billon* money, of a type imitated from the less alloyed *Silver* coinage of the Brahmanical kings[2] of the Punjáb, whose early seat of government had been located at Kábul. Albírúni's account of this dynasty, and the resistance offered by its later members to the advance of the great Mahmúd of Ghazní, concludes with the narrative of the extinction of the race in the person of Bhíma Pála in A.H. 416 (A.D. 1025). Whether Albírúni has preserved the full and continuous succession in the eight names he enumerates is doubtful; but it is clear that there is a break in the terminology between the four leading names on his list and the designations preserved in the second division, while the variation in the nomenclature at their point of juncture, coupled with an apparent cessation of coinage on the part of the leading kings of the second period, seems to indicate the indirect accession of a more southern and definitively Rájpút race, unaccompanied by any such overt rupture, or dynastic revolution, as should reach the comprehension of a stranger to local tradition or the unwritten law, which so readily accepted the most powerful king for the time being, as the Suzerain *Mahá rája*, wherever he might be domiciled, or whatever sectional creed he might choose to reserve for his own private conscience. I was originally under the impression that the coins of *Aṇangpál* and *Sallakshanpál* (Nos. 32, 33, *infrà*) belonged to the sixth and seventh kings of Albírúni's consecutive series, supposing that, the one name being *identical*, the other might represent the designation of his successor, so strangely perverted by the Muslim writers into the many varying forms of M. Reinaud's "NARDAJANPÁL." I am now, however, disposed to transfer the pieces bearing the epigraph of "Anaṇgpál" to the king of that name, who

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[1] Annals of Rajasthán, by Col. J. Tod, London.

[2] Albírúni uses the words وزيرة من البراهمة كلر and بعده البراهمة سامند The Jám'i al Tawárikh has من البراهمة سامند which certainly seem to

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point to absolute caste in contradistinction to mere creed. The Túrk kings were Buddhists.

completed *Lál Kot,* and reëdified *Dilli,* about the middle of the eleventh century;[1] and, while seeking a new owner among the closely contemporary sovereigns for the coins of *Sallakshanpál,* to restore to the second *Jaipál* the tribal prefix of *Tuár.*[2] The general style and fabric of the mintages of Anaṇgpál remove them, in a marked degree,

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[1] "In Mewar is *Samar Sing*, who takes tribute from the mighty. . . In the midst of all, strong in his own strength, Mundores prince, the arrogant *Nahar Rao*, the might of Maroo, fearing none. In Delhi, the chief of all *Anunga*, at whose summons attended the princes of Mundore, Nagore, Sinde, Julwut, and others on its confines, Peshawur, Lahore, Kangra, and its mountain chiefs, with Kasi, Priag, and Gurh Deogir."—From "Chand's" Chronicle, Tod's translation, i. 224. "The author adds, the Chohans of Ajmér owed at least homage to Delhi at this time, although Beesul-deo had rendered it almost nominal; and to Soméswar, the fourth in descent, Anungpal was indebted for the preservation of his supremacy of his kingdom against the attempt of Kanouj, for which service he obtained the Tuar's daughter in marriage, the issue of which was Pirthi Raj, who, when only eight years of age, was proclaimed successor to the Delhi throne. Jeichand of Kanouj and Pirthi Raj bore the same relative situation to Anungpal, Beejipal, the father of the former, as well as Soméswar, having had a daughter of the Tuar to wife." i. p. 225.

[2] M. Reinaud and Sir H. Elliot have collected together numerous variants of the initial portion of this name, as it appears in the different Arabic and Persian MSS. General Cunningham has also quoted many possible readings of the Persian letters forming the name of *Budah*, the King of Sind, of Mas'audi; in illustration of which he contributes three several Hindi versions of the name of *Tudr*, viz., तोमर, तोअर, and तुवार. Colebrooke gives some eight variants of the authorized orthography of the name of Chohán, and nearly as multifarious a list of the Hindi versions of the name of Dehli (Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1827, i. 137). See also Memoirs of Races N.W.P., Sir H. Elliot (London, 1859), i. 63, and ii. p. 294, where he quotes the well known passage—

पहिले दिहली तूमर पीछे चौहानु
और पीछे मोगल पठानु

"First in Dihlí was the Túmar, then the Chauhán,
And afterwards Mogal and Paṭhán."

Of course, if this interpretation of the prefix to the second Jaipál's name is to be accepted, we must either surrender the previous suggestion that the great Jaipal was a *Bhatti* (J.R.A.S. xi. p. 184; Elliot's Historians, ii. 426, 440; Tod, i. 251), or else adopt a not improbable alternative, that Rájput Princes had from the category of the more finished monetary specimens of the first section of the Kábul dynasty, even as their treatment in *tughra*, size, and metal approximates them to the more purely Indian currencies of the later epoch. The absence of any coins of Jaipál I., Anandpál I., *Tuár* Jaipál, or Bhímpál, need scarcely create surprise, now that we have learnt from Mahmúd's own historians[1] what a life he led these later representatives of the ancient dynasty; so that, when Bhímpál retired to his last stronghold at Kangra,[2] he had already become but of small repute in the political comity of the Rájas of northern India.

Abú Rihán Al Bírúni's list of the Brahman kings of Kábul and their Indian successors is as follows: After Kank, کنک,

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family designations indicative of the *Got* or tribe of the mother. I am not at all sure that such a supposition would not go far to explain the difficulty environing the name of "*Gola*," which has been made into "slave" (Tod, i. 179), "natural son," etc. etc., but which would more reasonably answer to some of the vernacular renderings of "*Gehlote*," ("Someswara, originally called Prithvi Raja, was a *Guhila* by the mother's side."—Cunningham, Arch. Rep. p. 14); equally as some of the prefixes to پور جیپال *Púr Jaipál* and "*Pérou Hibal*" (Elliot, ii. 47) may chance to accord with the classical Pramar. The Muhammadan authors seldom specify, and probably but imperfectly realised the gradations of Hindu castes; but the Táj ul Maásir, in speaking of the investment of Kálinjar in A.D. 1202, mentions that "the accursed *Parmár*, the Rái, fled into the Fort," etc. (Elliot's Historians, ii. 231, and p. 228 *Rái Solankh pál*, of Gwalior, A.D. 1196). Parihár dynasty at Marwar from A.D. 1129, "the last Parihár Raja," escapes from *Gwalior* in A.D. 1232, on its capture by Altamsh (Cunningham, Arch. Rep. 1864–5, p. 29). The Parihár dynasty of Gwalior extended from 1228 A.D. to the final capture in 1232 (pp. 50, 55, *ibid.*). Of course, these are merely suggestive speculations, but it is clear from the numerous quotations concerning tribal divisions among the Rájputs preserved by Col. Tod, that the *Gotam* distinction would be as likely to be kept prominently in view among individuals as among the clans themselves. In referring to an earlier period, Col. Tod enumerates the contingents furnished from each State, "from Ajmir the *Gor*, Dehli the *Tuar* Putun the *Chawura* Rijdhur, Kanouj the Rahtor, Jesulgurh the *Bhatti*, Láhor the *Boosa*, and from Nadolaye the *Chohan*." i. 248.

[1] Elliot's Historians, ii. pp. 19, 22, 24, 33, 47, 50.

[2] Elliot, ii. p. 34, 48.

"the last of the Kutúrmán kings," come, in succession, the Brahmans—1. Kalara, كلر ; 2. Samanda, سامند ; 3. Kamlúa, كملو ; 4. Bhíma, بهيم ;[1] 5. Jai*pala* جيپال ; 6. Anand*apala*, انندپال; 7. Nardajana*pala*, نردجنپال ; 8. Bhíma*pala*, بهيم پال .[2]

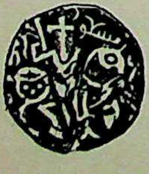
I subjoin notices of the coins of such of the Indian kings as are connected by similarity of types with the later members of this dynasty. A summary of such pieces as can be attributed with any confidence is subjoined.

No. 1.	Tuar	Anangpála of Dehli	A.D. 1051—1081.
2.	Chandel	Sallakshanpála of Mahoba	A.D. 1085—1105.
3.	Ditto	Madanapála of ditto	A.D. 1130—1163.
4.	Chohán	Someswara of Ajmír	A.D. 1167—1169.
5.	Chohán	Prithví Rája of Ajmír and Dehli,	A.D. 1176—1192.
6.	?	Cháhar Deva of Ajmír	A.D. 1234—1254.[3]

[1] I may as well reproduce the latest revised readings of these names, as obtained from the coins.

a. A king of the old dynasty, with the Elephant and Lion device, श्री वेर्क देव *Srí Verka deva.*

Kábul dynasty—1. श्री स्यलपति देव *Srí Syala pati deva.* Arabic equivalent of Al Bírúni (revised), سلر . The name of Syala seems to be connected with the Syala Játs in the Punjáb, Syálkot, etc. 2. श्री समन्त देव *Srí Samanta deva.* سامند . 3. श्री ख्वदवयकः *Srí Khvadavayakah.* كملوا . (The initial in this name might possibly be read as स्व *sv.* The interchange of *ss*, *sys*, with *ks* and *ka's* is unlimited. The letter, on the other hand, may possibly prove to be an अ *a*, as a very similar outline is given to the indubitable अ *a*'s on some of the Indian coins of Alá-ud-dín Mas'aúd, *infrà.*) 4. श्री भीम देव *Srí Bhím deva.* بهيم . To show how early the Muhammadans began to trespass upon the royal stamp of the Kábul kings, I annex a cut of a coin of Mas'aúd of Ghazní, with his name in Kufic letters (مسعود) clearly legible above the horse's head. Mr. Bayle , who owns this piece, has a similar specimen bearing the name of Muhammad (محمد), Mas'aúd's brother and predecessor on the throne of Mahmúd.



[2] M. Reinaud, Fragments Arabes et Persans relatifs a l'Inde. Paris, 1845.

[3] There are four novelties in this series, the names on which can be but im-

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No. 32. 1. Aṇanga pála deva.

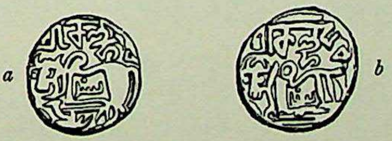
Silver and copper. Weight, 48 grs. (Ariana Antiqua, xix. 15; J.R.A.S. vol. ix., illustrative plate, figs. 9, 10.)

Horseman.	**Bull.**
स्री अणंग पाल देव	**माधव स्री समन्त देव**
Srí Aṇanga péla deva.	*Mádhava Srí Samanta deva.*

perfectly read and for which we are unable to find positive identifications. They may be tentatively transcribed as follows:—

No. 1. (Three coins.) J.R.A.S. ix. figs. 17, 18.	
Horseman—**श्री कोल्लि . देव**	Bull—. **पाल श्री सम** . .
Ṣri Killi . Deva.	. *Pála Ṣri Sama* . .
No. 2. (One coin only.)	
पिछिम्ब देवः र . .	**असावरो श्री समन्त देव**
Pachimba Deva, Rája ? or *Pithimba Deva.* [? **पीताम्बर** *Pitámbar*].	*Asdwari Ṣrí Samanta Deva*
No. 3. (Three coins.)	
श्री पीपल राज देव	Ditto.
Ṣrí Pípala Rája Deva, or *Pípaṇa Rája Deva,*	

There was a Pipanjar Rája, a Khichi Chohán, a contemporary of Prithvi Rája.



No 4. Silver and copper. (Three coins.) Gen. Cunningham *a*. Mr. Baylcy. My cabinet *b*.

BULL.	HORSEMAN.
श्री कल्हदव	Legend illegible.
Ṣrí Kalha deva ?	
On the saddle cloth of the Bull سنا "light.'	

This last coin differs materially in the details of the design from Nos. 1, 2, 3, and offers the peculiarity of giving the name on the Bull Reverse, as in the in-

In some of the more finely executed coins there are traces of the word राजा *Rájá* after the *Anangapála deva.* The introductory title on the

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troductory series, instead of over the Horseman on the Obverse, as is usual on the later imitations. The outline of the Bull itself is comparatively archaic, following the treatment observable in the coins of Bhíma (A.A. xix. 9, 17), and which I should, on other grounds, attribute to a Kangra or proximate site. The Hindi writing is comparatively more formed and developed than is usual on the kindred pieces, but the execution of the Kufic letters denotes an early period; and the monogram of سنا associates the issue indirectly with the coinage of Mas'aud III. of Ghazní, who affected the title of سناالملة (J.R.A.S. ix. 367, and coin No. cxxxv.), and occasionally placed the abbrevated سنای on the top of the field on his silver money. But the connexion is more directly established by the fact that I am able to quote a small coin of Mas'aud III. with his *full* titles in Kufic on the obverse, combined with the identical سنا on the *Jhúl* of the Bull. Mas'aud III. (A.H. 492–508), it will be remembered, was the first of his race who occupied Láhor as an occasional capital, and whose generals attempted to annex the country towards the Ganges.—Násiri, p. 21; Ibn Asir, x. p. 353; Briggs, i. 143; Elphinstone, 355.

As the Hánsi Inscription, which may chance to illustrate some of the doubtful names above transcribed, is but little known, and but imperfectly accessible to modern readers, I append an abstract of its leading historical sections.

INSCRIPTION FROM HÁNSI (copied by Captain E. Fell, from a stone in the Fort).

1. Salutation to Devi, etc.

2. The Prince Prithivi Raja was born in the race of the descendants of the moon: his maternal uncle was named Kirana, an increaser of his fame.

3. He was as an autumnal moon, for an ornament to that firmament, the tribe of Guhilanta, etc.

4. Having slain the warrior Hammira ["Hamvira," or Amir, according to *Wilson*, p. 466], who was an arrow to the earth; the king, who was a serpent to the riches of his enemies . . . . presented to him, possessing pure virtues, the strong fortress of A'sikí.

5. Having, for the purposes of battle, entered the lofty-peaked fortress . . . . Travellers describing a celestial, and highly finished road, which he (Kirana) had made, and which resembled the very heart (best part) of the earth, thus exclaimed, "Oh thou hero Hammira, where now is thy name and majesty."

6. By new revenues, arising from his victories, first the high road was finished, near it were two lofty buildings made of copper, etc., and also an apartment for the wealth of his enemies . . . .

7. But what can be said of the greatness . . . . of the fortunate Kilhaṇa, divinely seated, broad-chested, strong-armed, whose festivals are far-famed . . .

Bull surface of these coins varies from the *Mádhava* (a synonym of *Krishna*), to the biliteral चा *cha* and the more ample असावरी *Asáwarí* (a title of *Durgá*).

9. Oh thou hero! Hanuman thus writes, "that you possess wonderful valour, and that without a doubt the illustrious prince Prithivi Raja is Ráma."

10. Being born in the line of Guhilanta, etc.

11, 12, 13, 14 [conventional glorifications, etc.].

15. And, again, Kilavalha, born in the tribe of Táda, an image of strength, and a slayer of the armies of all his foes (was) a bee to the lotus feet of the fortunate Kilhaṇa: his son Upaga was called on the earth Lakshmana.

16. He was an excellent sage, and by his devotion obtained the abode of the three-eyed god. This fortunate Lakshmana was always the chief of those composed minds.

In the year of Sambat 1224 (A.D. 1168), on Saturday, the 7th of the white fortnight, of the month of Mágha."—As. Res. xv. (published in 1825), pp. 443–6, 455.

Col. Tod has published, in the first volume of the Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society (1827), "the substance" of this identical inscription, which he states he obtained at Hánsí Hisár, in 1815. "The stone on which it was engraved was presented to the Marquis of Hastings in 1818," but is not now to be traced. Col. Tod's version differs in many respects from that given above—(1) In the name of *Kirana*, which he uniformly makes into *Kilhaṇa*, as it appears in paragraphs 7 and 15 of the Fell translation; (2) Hammira, instead of being slain, is himself invested with the charge of the strong fortress of Ási; (3) The *road* said to have been constructed in the one version becomes "a gateway" in the other; (4) "Two halls: the victorious treasury of the foe's wealth and his own abode," replaces the words in paragraph 6, above given; (5) and Táda is corrected into Ḍoḍa (*Dór*).

It would be rash to arbitrate between these two authorities in the absence of the original document in dispute, with the witnesses on either side in their graves; but certainly Capt. Fell's version is somewhat obscure and disconnected; while Tod's, though only an abstract, seems more simple and consistent. Prof. Wilson, however, who publishes the posthumous work of Capt. Fell, whom he designates as that "distinguished scholar," possibly had the transcript text available to check the translation to which he lends his authority. Tod's case is not so clear, though from the general tenor of his paper there remains a doubt as to whether he had the *complete* Sanskrit transliteration in his possession.

See also Wilson, Ariana Antiqua, p. 432, who partially repeats his accepted interpretation of the inscription, in the words, "He was more probably the Hamíra, who was governor of Hánsi in the time of Prithwi Rai, and was killed by the Raja's uncle Kilhana, as recorded by an inscription found in that Fort."

No. 33. 2. Sallakshana pála deva.[1]

Silver and copper. Weight, 50 grs. (J.R.A.S. ix. figs. 11, 12.)

Horseman.	Bull.
स्री सल्लचण पाल देव	स्री समन्त देव
Srí Sallakshaṇa pála deva.	*Srí Samanta deva.*

No. 34. 3. Madana Pála Deva.

Silver and copper. Weight, 51 grs. (J.A.S. Bengal, iv. pl. xxxvi. fig. 16; Prinsep's Essays, xxv. fig. 16, xxvi. fig. 27; Ariana Antiqua, xix. figs. 19 and 23; J.R.A.S. vol. ix. illustrative plate, fig. 13.

Horseman.	Bull.
श्री मद्न पाल देव	माधव श्री समन्त देव
Srí Madana pála deva.	*Mádhava Srí Samanta deva.*

In order to bring under one view all the coins of this class appertaining to Native States, at or about the epoch of the extension of the Muhammadan conquests among the Rájpút tribes, I append a notice of two coins of Mahipála, the one having traces of the old Brahmanical Bull and Horseman device, the other approximating, in a minor degree, to the Narwar design of Cháhar's local issues.

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[1] There is a name identical with this, of an approximate period, on the Golden Láṭ, at Dehli (Prinsep's Essays, i. p. 325); and another very similar in form, in the Buddha Gáya Inscription (J.A.S.B. vol. v. pl. xxx.), which has been read as श्रीमल्लचण सन देव *Srímat Lakshaṇa Sena deva.* The name of *Sallakshana* also occurs in the Chándel list, quoted below.—Cunningham, Arch. Report, 1864-5, p. 89.

No. 35. Mahípála, king of Gwalior, etc., A.D. 1093.[1]

Copper, or copper with a very small admixture of silver. Weight, 46 grs. (3 specimens, my cabinet.)

Horseman.	**Bull.**
The original figure is scarcely to be traced.	श्री महीपाल *Ṣrí Mahípála.* In large coarse modern looking characters, with the *mátrás* (or head lines) nearly level, as in Muhammad Sám's coin No. 13).

No. 36. Mahípal.

Silver and copper. Weight, 43 grs. (J.R.A.S. ix. plate, fig. 15, pp. 188, 198.

स्रीम *Srí Ma-* हपाल *hi pála* देवः *Devah.*	Imperfect traces of the Chohán Bull. (No legend.)

No. 37. 4. Someswara deva.

Silver and copper. Weight, 53 grs. (A.A. xix. 28; J.R.A.S. ix. fig. 16.

Horseman.	**Bull.**
श्री सोमेस्वर देव *Ṣri Someswara deva.*	असावरी श्री समन्त देव *Asáwarí, Ṣri Samanta deva.*

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[1] Cunningham, Gwalior Inscriptions, p. 62, A.D. 1093 and 1103. Rajendra Lala Mitra, J.A.S. Bengal, pp. 12, 16; Prinsep, Useful Tables, p. 258.

No. 38. 5. Prithví Rája Deva.

Silver and copper. Weight, 52 grs. (Ariana Antiqua, xix. fig. 18; Prinsep's Essays, i. pl. xxv. fig. 21; xxvi. 30.)

Horseman.	Bull.
श्री पृथ्वी राज देव	असावरी श्री समन्तदेव
Ṣrí Prithví Rája deva.	*Asáwarí, Ṣrí Samanta deva.*

It will be seen that in this new arrangement of these coins I have altogether abandoned any principle of continuous sequence, as well as any theory of limitation to one family or to one locality: in short, I hold that the right to issue this particular species of currency was conventionally confined to the Lord paramount among the Rájput States for the time being, and that the acknowledged *Rájádhiráj* (राजाधिराज) "King over Kings," or the "*Dhiráj*" of the vernacular, was alone entitled to this symbol of supremacy.[1] That the exercise of the right was frequently abused is highly probable, but among these heroic races,[1] who were sensitive to a degree on questions of honour and precedence, an assumption which could not be defended by the sword was likely to be of brief continuance. The old Kabul device of the Bull and Horseman, with its special Hindu associations, was apparently revived by Anangpál, at Dehli, in the days of his power; as other potentates came to the front, and other clans secured a temporary dominancy, his position changed, and, later in point of time, Dehli became a mere king-ship subject to Ajmír. It will be seen that I propose to assign the next coin, in the order of date, to Sallakshanapála I., the Chándel monarch of Mahoba,[2] who we learn from inscriptions extended his conquests into the Gangetic Doáb; and to his grandson *Madana* Varmma *deva* I assign the coins bearing his leading name, in preference to the nearly contemporary *Madana Pála*, of Kanauj, whose territory was supplied with a different description of coinage, as well as on account of the serial consistency, if the earlier pieces are rightly attributed to his grandsire, whose power he seems to have inherited in added stability.[1] The assignment of the money of the Chohán kings Someswara and Prithvi Rája requires no confirmation; but our special

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[1] "We may here briefly describe the state of Hindusthán at this epoch, and for centuries previous to the invasions of Mahmúd (four great kingdoms)—1. Dehli, under the Tuars and Chohans; 2. Kanouj, under the Rahtores; 3. Mewar, under the Ghelotes; 4. Anhulwara, under the Chauras and Solankhis.' To one or other of these states the numerous petty princes of India paid homage and feudal service. The boundary line between Dehli and Kanouj was the *Kálinadi*, or black stream. Dehli claimed supremacy over all the countries westward to the Indus, embracing the lands watered by its arms from the foot of the Himalaya, the desert, to the Aravulli chain. The power of Kanouj extended north to the foot of the Snowy Mountains; eastward to Kasi (Benares) and across the Chumbul to the lands of the Chundail (now Búndelkhund); on the south its possessions came in contact with Méwar (or Medya-war), "the central region," which was bounded to the north by the Aravulli chain, to the south by the Pramaras of Dhar, westward by Anhulwara, which state had the ocean to the south, the Indus on the west, and the desert to the north."—Tod, ii. 9, and i. 248. At p. 443, vol. ii., Col. Tod gives Chand's picture of the Chohan dominion—"From the seat of government (*Rajásthán*) *Mácâoti* (old Gurra Mundilla) the oath of allegiance (*Án*) resounded in fifty-two castles."

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[1] Have we anything in European chivalry to compare with the act of the Suktawut Chief, who is related to have voluntarily submitted himself for impalement on the spikes of the gate of a beleaguered town, to enable his own elephant to force an entry?—Tod, i. 150.

[2] CHÁNDEL DYNASTY (Mahoba, Kálinjar, etc). Cunningham, Arch. Rep., 1864-5.

A.D.
7th King, 950, Dhanga (Khajuráho Inscriptions, A.D. 954 and 999).
8th ,, 999, Ganda (Nanda Rai of Ferishtah? A.D. 1021).
9th ,, 1025, Vidyádhara deva.
10th ,, 1045, Vijaya Pála.
11th ,, 1065, Kirtti Varmma deva. Coins.
12th ,, 1085, Sallakshana Varmma deva (Mhow Inscriptions). Coins.
13th ,, 1105, Jaya Varmma deva (Khajuráho Inscriptions, A.D. 1116). Coins. [Prinsep's Essays, pl. xxiv. 7, 8, p. 291. श्री अजय देव]
14th ,, 1120, Sallakshana Varmma deva? brother of Jaya.
15th ,, 1125, Prithvi Varmma. Coins.
16th ,, 1130, Madana Varmma deva (Inscriptions, 1131, 1163, A.D.). Coins.
17th ,, 1163, Kirtti Varmma deva?
18th ,, 1167, Paramárddi deva (Inscriptions, 1167 and 1183 A.D.).
19th ,, 1202, Trailokya Varmma deva. *Dilki* of Ferishtah? A.D. 1247.
20th ,, 1205, Sandhira Varmma deva (Copper-plate Inscriptions, 1280 A.D.).
21st ,, 1280, Bhoja Varmma (Ajaygurh Inscription), 1288 A.D.
22nd ,, Vira Varmma (Maisey's Inscription, No. ii.), 1315 A.D.

General Cunningham adds, the coins of this dynasty are "extremely rare, as I have obtained only seven specimens in gold, and nine in copper, during a period of more than thirty years. . . . . The gold and silver coins are all of the well-known type of the Rathors of Kanoj, which bear a seated figure of the four-armed goddess *Durgá* or *Párvati* on the obverse, and, on the reverse, the king's name in three lines of Mediæval *Nágari* characters. The copper coins bear, on the obverse, a two-armed male figure, which appears to be that of the monkey god *Hanumán*; and, on the reverse, the king's name in Nágari characters." Arch. Report, 1864–5, pp. 85–88.

General Cunningham was under the impression that the Trailokya Varmma Deva, of the Chándel list, might be identified with the "Dilki and Milki" of Ferishtah. The more complete details of the actors and events of this period, furnished by the work of Minháj us Siráj, seem to show that though the association of Trailokya with the Milku or Milkdeva (میلکدیو) the son of *Visala?* of Gwalior (Elliot, ii. 327, Persian text, p. 174 بلبل or میلکو پسر میل; var. پسر بسیل; the Tárikh Mubárak Sháhi, which copies Minháj us Siráj, has بیسل مالک MS. Sir H. Elliot, A.H. 629 = A.D. 1231), might be possible, notwithstanding the obscurity of the patronymic, the name of Dilki and Milki (دلکي و ملکي واورانهٔ بود), of A.H. 645 = A.D. 1247, can scarcely apply to the same individual, who is described as residing "in the vicinity of the Jumna, between Kálinjar and Karra," whose dwelling place no Muhammadan army had ever reached.—Tabakát-i-Násiri, pp. 211, 291. See also Elliot, ii. 348–366; iii. 76.

[1] Inscriptions at *Mhow*, translated by Lieut. Price, 2; Kálinjar, Lieut. Maisey, No. iv. and 11 others.—Cunningham, Arch. Report, p. 83.

concern at present is with the issues of Cháhar Deva. We have independent evidence of his supremacy at Narwar, in A.D. 1246;[1] and in 1234 we first find him encountering the troops of Altamsh, under Nuṣrut-ud-dín Tábasi. On this and subsequent occasions of his conflicts with the Muslims, extending up to A.D. 1253, with the capture of Narwar, by Balban, in 1251, he is described by Minháj us Siráj, as اين رانهٔ اجاري "This Rána Áchári," who was بزرگترين رايان هندوستان "The greatest of the kings of Hindustán," etc., and other similar expressions,[1] showing that he was the recognized leader and lord paramount of the Hindu princes of central India, struggling to preserve their kingdoms from the foreign invader. The term اجاري is susceptible of two interpretations, the one as the correspondent of आचार

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[1] "In my account of the ancient coins of Narwar, I have brought forward specimens of Cháhada Deva which are dated in various years, from S. 1303 to 1311, or A.D. 1246 to 1254, and specimens of his son Asala Deva which range from S. 1311 to 1336, or from A.D. 1254 to 1279. As these are corroborated by several existing inscriptions there seems to be no reason to doubt that at least these two Rajas must have been independent princes. But there are also similar coins of a third prince, named Malaya Varmma Deva, who, from the dates of S. 1280 and 1290, or A.D. 1223 and 1233, must have been the immediate predecessor of Cháhada Deva. His coins were found at Narwar, Gwalior, and Jhansi; but as there are only five specimens, it is not certain that they belong to Narwar. Indeed the name of Varmma would rather seem to point to Kálinjar. It is possible, therefore, that Cháhada himself may have supplanted the Parihár dynasty. But I am rather inclined to think that Malaya Varmma Deva must have dispossessed the Parihárs, and that he was shortly afterwards ejected by Cháhada Deva, who was most probably the founder of a new dynasty, as the genealogy of the family opens with his name. . . . Cháhada was succeeded by his son Asala Deva. . . . His money also is common. I found his name on a Sati pillar at Rai, near Kulháras, S. 1327 or A.D. 1270, during the reign of *Sri-mat Asalla Deva*. . . . From all these various sources the chronology of this Narwar dynasty may be arranged with considerable precision, although the dates of accession cannot be exactly determined—1. Cháhada Deva, A.D. 1238—1254. 2. Asala Deva, A.D. 1254—1279. 3. Gopála, A.D. 1279—1291. 4. Ganapati, A.D. 1291—1298. As no coins of the last two princes have yet been discovered, I infer that they must have been made tributary by the Muhammadan kings of Dehli."—Arch. Report, 1864–5, p. 30. See also General Cunningham's "Coins of the nine Nágas, and two other dynasties of Narwar and Gwalior."—J. A. S. Bengal, vol. xxxiv. (1865), p. 116.

و بوقت مراجعت رانهٔ اجار که جاهر نام بود سر راه لشکر اسلام بگرفت (A.H. 632, A.D. 1234. p. 240.)

در وقت مراجعت از کالنجر ممر لشکر اسلام بدين رانهٔ اجاري بود في الجمله اين رانه سر راه لشکر اسلام در مضائق از آب سندي بکرفت [The Sindhu of Narwar, A.H. 632] . . . . [Nusrat-ud-dín Tábasi adds, in his own person] آن هندوک اجاري چنان بر من حمله کرد که گوئي گرگي است که رمهٔ گوسفندان مي افتد (p. 297.)

الغخان بالشکرهاي بسيار بطرف رتنپور و نهب کوه‌پايهٔ ميوات و بلاد باهر [جاهر] ديو که بزرگترين رايان هندوستان بود نامزد شد

A.H. 646, A.D. 1248, p. 292.

و در آن سفر تا نزديک مالوه برفتند و جاهر اجار که بزرگترين رانگان آن بلاد و بقاع بود بقدر پنجهزار سوار و دو لک پياده داشت منهزم گشت و قلعهٔ بلور [نرور] که عمارت کرده بود فتح شد و نهب گشت

A.H. 649. A.D. 1251, p. 215.

جاهر اجاري‌را که رانهٔ بس شگرف (A.H. 649, p. 296) . . . و اين رانهٔ اجاري که جاهر نام بود مردي بس جلد و کاردان بود و در عهد سلطان سعيد شمس الدين طاب ثراه در سال سنه اثنين و ثلثين و ستمايه (p. 296) . . اين حکايت بجهت آن اورده شد تا خواندگان‌را

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A'chára, "established custom, usage;" the other, and more probable meaning, as आचार्य *A'cháryya*, "A spiritual guide," under the vernacular variants of *A'chárj* اجارج and *A'chári*. We know that many of the chiefs of these Rajput tribes

روشن گردد که شهامت و جهانگیري الغخان (A.H. 649, A.D. 1251)
معظم تا چه اندازه بود که این چنین خصمي را مقهور و منهزم گردانید
و قلعه بزور [نرور] را که حصن نامدار است از دست تصرف او
بیرون کرد p. 297.

و راي رتنپور باهر [جاهر] دیو که اعظم رایان و اصیل و بزرگ ترین
ملوک هند است لشکر کشید (A.H. 651, A.D. 1253) . . . . . [الغخان]
تمامت آن لشکر راي جاهردیورا اگرچه بس انبوه و با صلاح و اسپ
بودند منهزم گردانید p. 299. Calcutta text.

Also Elliot's Historians, ii. pp. 351, *note* 1, 366, 370.

The Tárikh-i-Mubárak Sháhi, compiled circa A.H. 838, which closely follows Minháj us Siráj, in the epitome of the earlier reigns of the Sultáns of Dehli, in giving its version of the encounter with Cháhar Deva, speaks of him as

هرجادیو لعین که معظم ترین کفاران دیار بود

The other Rájas, from Prithví downwards, are merely described severally as راي, ضابت, or مالک.

"In the very early periods, the princes of the Solar line, like the Egyptians and Romans, combined the offices of the priesthood with kingly power, and this whether Brahmanical or Boodhist . . . and in ancient sculpture and drawings the head is as often adorned with the braided lock of the ascetic as with the diadem of royalty (even now the Rana of Méwar mingles spiritual duties with those of royalty, and when he attends the temple . . . performs himself all the offices of high priest of the day)." Tod, i. 27, 582.—*Ráj Rájéswara*, title of prince of Marwar; Ráj Ráj Indra of Amber; ii. 137.—Rawal, title of the prince of Jessulmér; ii. pp. 249, 277.—Ranas of Méwar *dewáns* or Vicegerents of Siva: i. 517.—Rana of Méwar, heir to the throne of Rama, called *Hindua Sooraj*, or Sun of the Hindus; i. 211, 232.—The *Achári*, however, may by some sort of possibility stand for *Aharya*, a term derived from *Ahar* in Oodipur, i. pp. 213, 216.

in later days affected hierarchal honours, calling themselves *Mahants*, etc., and the famous Samarsi was designated as the "Regent of Mahádeva."[1]

The coins described below illustrate—1, The independent position of Cháhar Deva as *Mahárája Adhirája*; 2, His concession of supremacy to Altamsh; 3, The establishment of Altamsh's generals in Ajmír; and, 4, The contrast in the orthography of the Dehli coins of that Sultán, and the transliteration of the name current in Rajputána.

Coins of CHÁHAR DEVA, *as paramount Sovereign.*

No. 39. S.C. (copper in excess). Weight, 50 grs. A.A. xix. 16.

HORSEMAN.	BULL.
श्री चाहड देव	असावरी श्री समन्तदेव
Srí Cháhaḍa Deva.	*Asáwarí Srí Samanta Deva.*

CHÁHAR DEVA, *as Tributary to Shams-ud-dín Altamsh?*

No. 40, S.C. (copper predominates). Weight, 48 grs. (No. 15, pl. 1.) Ariana Antiqua, xix. 31, 34, 37. Prinsep's Essays, pl. xxvi. 31.

HORSEMAN.	BULL.
श्री चाहड देव	असावरी श्री समसोरल देवे
Srí Cháhaḍa Deva.	*Asáwarí Srí Samasorala Deve.*

ALTAMSH'S *own proper* Coins, *struck at Ajmír?*

No. 41. S.C. (of inferior value). Weight, 50 grs.
Prinsep's Essays, i. p. 333.

HORSEMAN.	BULL.
श्री हमीरः	श्री समसोरलदेवे
Srí Hamírah.	*Srí Samasorala Deve.*

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[1] Tod, i. 257. Minháj us Siráj, at p. 149, Calcutta text, speaking of Lakhmaníah of Bengal, uses a curious expression in regard to his position as Khalifa. و خاندان ايشان را رايان هند بزرگ داشتندي و بمنزلت خليفهٔ هند شمردندي . Inter alia, see notice of "Achárj Malí Bhadur," Elliot, ii. 517.

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ALTAMSH'S *Imperial Dehli Coins.*

No. 42. S.C. Weight, 48 grs. (No. 16, pl. 1.)
Samvat, 1288=A.D. 1231=A.H. 629.
Ariana Antiqua, xix. 32, xx. 3. Prinsep's Essays, xxvi. 34, 39, 41.

HORSEMAN.	BULL.
स्री हंमीरः	**सुरितण स्री समसदिण**
Srí Hammírah.	*Suritaṇ Srí Samasadiṇ.*
	On the side of the Bull, १२८८.

These issues vary materially in the intrinsic value of the different pieces, ranging from nearly pure silver to copper, with a mere trace of the higher metal.

The legends on these coins differ occasionally in the definition of the Hindi version of the Sultán's name and titles: some specimens have **सुरिताण स्री समस दिण** *Suritáṇ Srí Samasa diṇ*, and occasionally **दीण** *díṇ*. Among other peculiarities, coins with these latter legends insert what are apparently dates, under the hump of the recumbent Bull. The isolated numbers hitherto observed extend only to ४ = 4 and ६ = 6, which may be supposed to indicate the years of the reign. The practice of introducing the full *Samvat* date, in the available spaces in the general outline of the *Tughra* device, seems to have been an amplification of this preliminary modification of the old Hindu symbols and their ultimate elaboration into numeral dates, as above given.

The subordinate die modifications peculiar to the epochal and geographical ramifications of the ancient device of the Hindú kings of Kábul are otherwise interesting, and may lead, under closer and more exact observation, to an improved classification of the different mintages. In the strictly initial section of these issues, comprising the *silver* money, the symbol on the Bull of Siva is confined to his own special trident or *trisul.* Aṇangapála introduces a sword or club in place of the trident (Ariana Antiqua, xix. 15; Prinsep's

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Essays, pl. xxv. figs. 14, 15), and at times resorts to a four-petalled flower (J.R.A.S. ix. 9). Madana Pala retains the *trisul* but slightly altered (xxv. 16), though in other cases he varies the device (xxvi. 27), and in one instance reverts to the best form of the old Brahman *trisul* (J.R.A.S. ix. fig. 13), with the exceptional adjunct of a clearly defined २ = 2. Prithví Rája and Cháhar Deva admit of a further alteration, and the ancient trident assumes almost the form of an opening flower (xxv. 21, 30, 31). Muhammad bin Sám, without rejecting the modernised form of the old symbol, in some cases affects a rose-like flower similar to that employed by Aṇanga (xxv. 20).

One of the most instructive exemplifications of the then prevailing system of adoption, or assimilation of local types, is afforded by another mintage of Altamsh's, of earlier date, which is directly identified with the capture of Rantambhor, in A.H. 623 (*Samvat* 1283 = A.D. 1226), from Cháhar Deva's predecessor, *Malaya Varmma-Deva* (A.D. 1210–1235).[1] The obvious imitation of the style and arrangement of the legends of the local (Narwār ?) money may be traced on the *Hindi* face of the Indo-Muhammadan pieces; and the substitution of GHAZNAVI *Persian* legends for the imperfect design of the typical horseman of the Kábul Brahmans, in conventional use in the patrimonial states of the Mahoba *Varmma* dynasty, is also suggestive, and, taken in connection with the fact that this new issue was not sustained beyond the single annual date now quoted, would seem to show that the exceptional currency was designed to mark the event of the conquest of the celebrated Hindu stronghold, so vauntingly reported by the contemporary historian:[1] in short, we may fairly infer that the coinage in question was intended as a kind of Numismatic *Fateh Námah*, or "announcement of victory;" its superscriptions, couched in the conjoined languages and alphabets of conquerors and conquered, were made more emphatically to point to the epoch of the surrender, by the repetition of the date, in the eras special to either nationality. These stamped manifestoes of the new lords of the soil penetrated more readily throughout the land, and brought home to the comprehensions of the primitive races, among whom they were designed to circulate, the actual change in the ruling power, far more effectively than elaborate proclamations by sound of trumpet or beat of drum, which would have secured a short lived and less abiding expression of triumph.

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[1] General Cunningham, J.A.S. Bengal, vol. xxxiv. (1865) p. 127, and Archæological Report, 1864–5, p. 30. [The name is not given in any historical account; the identity of the owner of the fortress is assumed from the connection established by the coins.]

One of the peculiarities of this issue, which also gives it an independent value, is that it furnishes the single instance, in the entire range of Altamsh's Kufic or Persian coins and inscriptions, of a counterpart definition of his original *Túrki* name, the correct expression of which is still undetermined; and though the Hindi version may carry but little positive authority in the matter, it gives us probably the pronunciation as orally delivered by his *Túrki* officials to the *Indian* Pandits who transliterated the name for the local die engravers.

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[1] و در شهور سنه ثلث و عشرين و ستمائه عزيمت فتح قلعه رتنپور مصمم فرمود و آن قلعه در حصانت و متانت و استحکام در تمام ممالک هندوستان مذکور و مشهور است و در تواريخ اهل هند چنين آورده اند که هفتاد و اند بادشاه بپاي آن قلعه امذه بودند و هيچ يکي را فتح آن حصار ميسر نشد بعد از مدت چند ماه در شهور ثلث و عشرين و ستمائه بردست بندگان او بفضل آفريدگار فتح شد

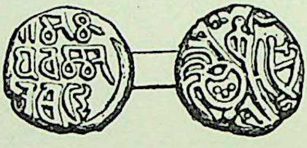
Tabukát-i-Násiri, ۱۷۲

Elliot's Historians, ii. 324; Ferishtah (Briggs), i. p. 210; Elphinstone (edit. 1866), p. 374. See also note to coin of Shír Sháh, from the same mint, *infrà*, for a description of the fortress itself.

Malaya Varmma Deva, of Kálinjar, *Narwar*, etc.?

No. 43. Silver and copper. Weight, 50 to 56 grs. *Samvat*, 1282=A.D. 1225.[1]

Prinsep's Essays, pl. xxv. fig. 17; Journ. As. Soc. Bengal, 1865. pl. xviii. figs. 25, 26, p. 126.



श्री मत्म लय वर्म्म देव सं १२. *Ṣrí Mat Malaya* *Varmma Deva.* *Sam(vat)* 12 . .	A crudely executed figure of the Kábul horseman.

Shams-ud-dín Altamsh, *on the conquest of Rantambhor.* ?

No. 44. Silver and copper. Weight, 53 grs. *Samvat*, 1283, A.H. 623=A.D. 1226. (No. 14, pl. i.)

CENTRE. السلطان ايلتمش MARGIN. ضرب . . عشرين و ستمابه	श्रो सुलता लितितिमि सि सं १२८३ *Ṣrí Sultána* *Lititimisi.* *Samvat*, 1283.

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[1] Other dates extant on coins, S. 1280, 1283, and S. 1290.

Cháhaṛa Deva. *Narwar* Coins. ?

No. 45. Silver and copper. Weight, 50 to 59 grs.
Samvat, 1303[1]=A.D. 1246.
Engravings, J.A.S. Bengal, 1865, pl. xviii. figs. 27, 28, p. 126.

Figure of the horseman, scarcely recognisable.	श्री मत्चा ड देव सं १३०३ *Sṛí Mat Cháhaḍa Deva.* *Samvat*, 1303.

No. 46. New variety. Silver and copper. Weight, 50 grs.
My cabinet.

OBVERSE—السلطان الاعظم السمس السلطان

REVERSE—Horseman, as in Muhammad bín Sám's coin, No. 5, pl. i.

No. 47. Silver and copper. Weight, 46 grs. Common.
No. 17, pl. i.

Obverse—شمس الدنيا و الدين السمش

Reverse—स्री हंमीर: *Sri Hammírah.* Horseman.

No. 48. Silver and copper. Weight, 53 grs. Common.
No. 18, pl. i.

Obverse—شمس الدنيا و الدين ايلسمش السلطان

Reverse—स्री हंमीर: *Sri Hammírah.* Horseman.

No. 49. Copper. Weight, 44 grs. Rare. Multán.

Obverse—Square area, within a circle, with a dotted margin.
عدل السلطان

Reverse—Area, as in No. 19, pl. i., ضرب ملتان

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[1] Other dates range on down to S. 1311.

The orthography of *Multán* on the coin is simply للاں without any dots, which for a long time made me hesitate in admitting the present reading, but which is now fully established by the legend on coins of U'zbeg Páï; and I have singular confirmation of the disregard of the true sounds of M and B, prevailing at this period, in the fact that many MSS. of the Tabakát-i-Násiri—the original of which was of nearly contemporaneous composition—define the name as بلتان,[1] a circumstance which has led to amusing confusion in the printed edition prepared in Calcutta by Maulawis Khadim Husain and 'Abd-al-Hai (1864),[2] whose geographical knowledge of Northern India seems to have been strangely defective.

No. 50. New variety. Silver and copper. Weight, 52 grs. Rare.

Obverse—Horseman, with traces of *Srí Hammírah*, in Hindi.

Reverse—Legend in square *Kufic* letters.

شمس
الدنيا والدين
ابو المظفر التمش

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[1] There are otherwise many variants of the name. Huen Thsang (A.D. 640) is said to give the Chinese transcript of *Moúlastán* (Paris edition, i. 210; iii. 173, 401). Mas'audi (A.D. 912) has بيت الذهب و هو المولتان (Paris edition, i. pp. 151, 375). Albiruni calls it مولتان المعمورة (Reinaud, 212). The astrolabe described by M. Dorn (St. Petersburg) gives ملتان "Μουλτον." The Maraṣid Al Iṭṭila' supplies ملتان, مولتان, and a variant in ملطان. See for early accounts of the place Elliot's Historians, i. pp. 23, 27, 29, 35, etc.

[2] Pages 176, 182, 270, 321. Elliot's Historians, ii. pp. 328.

No. 51. New variety. Silver and copper. Weight, 46 grs. Very rare.

Obverse—Horseman, with the word السلطان at the top of the field, as in No. 30, pl. i., of the succeeding issues.

Reverse—Square area. Legend in crude Kufic.
السلطان الا
عظم شمس
الدنيا و لدين

No. 52. Copper. Weight, 26 grs. Rare. No. 19, pl. i.
Obverse—عدل.
Reverse—السلطان.

No. 53. Copper. Weight, 24 grs. Common. No. 20, pl. i.
Obverse—عدل سلطان
Reverse—حضرت دهلي

No. 54. Copper. Weight, 28 grs. Rare. No. 21, pl. i.
Obverse—شمس.
Reverse—श्री समस दीन *Srí Samasa dín.*

No. 55. Copper. Weight, 25½ grs. Rare. No. 22, pl. i.
Obverse—عدل. Ornamental Kufic letters.
Reverse—شمس.

No. 56. New variety. Copper. Weight, 40 grs. Rare.

Obverse—عدل in open Kufic letters, with a six-pointed star above and below the word, encircled with a dotted margin.

Reverse—شمسي with ornamental *tughra* scrolls and dotted margin.

No. 57. Copper. Weight, 25½ grs. No. 23, pl. i.
Obverse—سلطان.
Reverse—التمش.

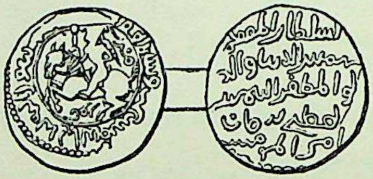
No. 58. New variety. Silver and copper. Weight, 38 grs.
Very rare.

Obverse—عدلي in a circle with two stars and dotted inner margin.

Reverse—A modified outline of the ancient typical Bull, with
स्रीसम ? or स्रीस्तम:

I was on the point of closing the long descriptive list of the coins of Altamsh, when Colonel Guthrie opportunely received from Major Stubbs, among his latest acquisitions in India, the most remarkable curiosity of the entire Pathán series at present known. The gold piece in question was apparently struck at the important strategical position of Nagór,[1] in the second year of Altamsh's reign.

No. 59. Gold. Weight, 70·6 grs. Unique. Nagór, A.H. 608.



Above the Horseman,
ضرب
Below the Horseman,
نكور

Margin—[محمد] رسول الله
لنار السمش ثمن و ستماية

السلطـــان المعظم
شمس الدنيا والدين
ابو المظـفر السمش
القطبے بـزمـــان
امـيـــر المومنيـن

The authoritative portrait of Altamsh, on horseback, is highly interesting, giving, as it does, so many curious details of costume and equipment. As a work of art, the die is defective in the extreme; but still it has its merit in revealing an original and independent representation of the monarch. The general design follows one of the exceptional models of the coinages of Ghor and Herát,[2] where the horse is seen at full charge, and the rider with upraised mace, the *special* weapon of the great Mahmúd. The form of the saddle, the seat of the horseman, the *chanfrein* or head-armour of the steed and his erect tail, all seem to point to *Túrki* ideals. The head-dress of the king is likewise peculiar, but the obliterated outline on this piece does not admit of our tracing the crest, whether of helmet or of crown; the flowing fall at the back of the head is remarkable, and has something of a Sassanian air; the well-grown beard of the king completes the picture. It is, moreover, specially to be noted that as the device follows Ghori models, so the coin itself adheres to the standard of the Northern *dínárs*, and has nothing in common with Indian weights.

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[1] Lat. 27° 10′, long. 73° 50′; about 60 miles N.E. of old Mandor (Jodpur), and 60 N.W. of Ajmír. Tod, ii. 15, 16; Elliot, ii. 326, 342, 370; Aín-i Akbari, ii. 80. Minháj speaks of Mundor as *in the* Siwalik, and he frequently adverts to "Hánsí and the Siwalik" in conjunction, while, on the other hand, he seems to exclude Pinjore from that range.

[2] J.R.A.S. xvii. p. 205, No. 57; and, doubtfully, No. 53 plate, fig. 9.

If the leading device is faulty in its treatment, the definition of the letters of the legends is still more imperfect; the legends themselves are also clearly in the initial or transition stage, from the fixed tenor of the old routine to the adaptation of new associations. The المعظم points to a moderately early period of the reign of the sovereign, but the hitherto unexampled use of the term القطبي *Al-ḳuṭbi*, *i.e.* the "Freedman," or dynastic dependent *of Kutb*-ud-dín Aibăk, more distinctly limits the date to a period when Altamsh had not quite emancipated himself from the halo of his late master's reign. The بزمان امير المومنين "in the time of the Commander of the Faithful," which follows the القطبي, is also an unusual form, but the expression is quite legitimate, and is replaced later in the day by the more enduring synonym of في عهد "in the time of," or "during the domination of." The reservation in regard to the name of the Khalif is also suggestive,—conquest in India had been too quick, and the new kingdom was still too isolated, for the Muslim adventurers in that *ultima thule* to have been taught the personal designation of the Pontiff, to whom all civilized Musulmáns confessed allegiance. The proposed reading of the two words on the field may require justification; the ضرب is certainly more like مرب, but the superimposed dot settles the question; the نكور also might be preferably transcribed بگور, and Nagór itself is usually written with the long *ā* ناكور. Moreover, if these two words ran together in a full marginal legend, the prefix ب would be indispensable, but in the open field, in parallel cases, the name itself was left to stand alone in its monogrammatic form. The marginal legend, the most important record of all for the absolute determination of the history of the piece, is not only incomplete, but the outlines of the letters are unusually crude and ill formed. The difficulties, however, are limited to the word preceding the obvious السمش, and to the *unit* or *decimal* preceding the equally clear و ستماية. The former is but of little import, and we may, for the present, admit *Dínár*, or some of its equivalents; but the date is of the first consequence, and all things considered ثمن for ثمان, an optional alternative, best meets the requirements of the case.

Inscriptions of *Shams-ud-dín Altamsh.*

F. Inscription over the doorway of the second story of the Kutb Minár.

امر باتمام هذه العمارة الملك المويد من السماء شمس الحق
والدين ايلتمش السلطاني ناصر امير المومنين

G. Inscription on the Upper Circlet of the Second Story of the Minaret.

السلطان الاعظم شهنشاه المعظم مالك رقاب الامم مفخر ملوك
العرب و العجم ظل الله فى العالم شمس الدنيا و الدين غياث
الاسلام و المسلمين تاج الملوك و السلاطين باسط العدل فى العالمين
علا الدولة القاهرة جلال الملة الباهرة الموید من السماء المظفر على
الاعداء شهاب سماء الخلافة ناشر العدل و الرافة محرز ممالك الدنيا
و مظهر كلمة الله العليا ابو المظفر ايليتمس السلطانى ناصر امير
المومنين خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه و اعلى امره و شانه

H. On the third story over the doorway, and on one of the bands, similar laudatory titles are repeated, with the addition of يمين الخلافة and other minor variations; and finally the epigraph (i.) over the doorway of the fourth story attributes the entire structure (with obvious error) to the time of Altamsh. The modification of his titles and designations alone would indicate the deferred execution of this inscription.

امربهذه العمارة في ايام الدولة السلطان الاعظم شهنشاه المعظم
مالك رقاب الامم مولى ملوك الترك و العرب و العجم شمس الدنيا
و الدين معز الاسلام و المسلمين ذوالامن و الامان وارث ملك
سليمان ابو المظفر ايلتمش السلطان ناصر امير المومنين

I. Inscription of Altamsh on one of the centre arches at the Kutb, date A.H. 629.

J. There is also an imperfect inscription of Altamsh on the lower belt of one of the minarets of the mosque at Ajmír. Gen. Cunningham gives the following as the still legible portion:

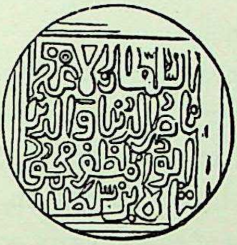
سلطان السلاطين الشرق ابو المظفر ايلتمش السلطانى ناصر اميرا لمومنين

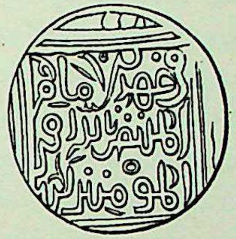
Archæological Report, 1864-5, p. 9.—The Emperor Bábar has preserved a notice of an inscription of Altamsh, which he saw on the gate of the *Urwáhi*, at Gwalior, dated A.H. 630 (Erskine, p. 384; Arch. Rep. 1864, p. 56).

Násir-ud-dín Mahmúd Sháh, heir apparent of Altamsh.

(See p. 45, *suprà.*)

No. 60. Silver. Weight, 163·1 grs. Unique. British Museum.





OBVERSE.	REVERSE.
السلطان الاعظم	في عهد الامام
ناصر الدنيا والدين	المستنصر بالله امير
ابو المظفر محمود	المومنين لله
شاه بن سلطان	

Margin, illegible.

The incidental details of the legends restrict the assignment of this piece to one of *two* individuals, the eldest or the youngest son of Altamsh, the latter of whom was authoritatively designated by the identical name and title of Násir-ud-dín Mahmúd,[1] in 626 A.H., after the decease of his brother, the cherished heir apparent to the newly-established Muslim empire in the East. The introduction of the formula, "during the reign of (the Khalif) Al Mostansir billah," on the reverse, limits the ultimate date of the possible issue of the coin, not so much to the fifth month of the year A.H. 640, when that Pontiff died, but with clear local effect to A.H. 641, when the knowledge of his death was officially declared by the substitution of a new name in the mintages of the capital of Hindustán.[1]

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[1] سلطان اسلام ناصر الدين محمود جنانچه وارث اسم ولقب او است

Tabakát Násirí, p. 181; بلقب و نام پسر مهتر مخصوص گردانیده p. 201.

The younger son, who was destined eventually to succeed to the throne of his father at Dehli, in A.H. 644, after the intervening reigns of Rukn-ud-dín Fírúz Sháh, Riẓíah, Mu'izz-ud-dín Bahrám Sháh, and Alá-ud-dín Mas'aúd Sháh, in all, however, extending only over a space of eleven years posterior to the death of Altamsh, must, under these conditions, have been but of tender years, and, though, at this juncture, promoted to the titular honours of an elder brother, in no position to exercise authority in his own person, and still less likely to have had medallic tribute paid to him by his father, should such motives be suggested in reference to the unique specimen under review. To the first-born, Násir-ud-dín Mahmúd, no such objections apply: he was very early invested by his sire with the administration of the important government of Láhor, and in A.H. 623 advanced to the higher charge of the dependencies of Oudh, from which *quasi* outpost he was called upon to proceed against Hisám-ud-dín 'Awz (No. 4 in the list of Governors, p. 8), who had already achieved a very complete independence in the province of Bengal. Here his arms were fortuitously, but not the less effectually successful, so that he had honours thrust upon him even to the Red Umbrella and its attendant dignities,[2] whatever the exact measure of power these heraldic insignia carried with them. He was, moreover, specially associated with the Pontifical recognition of the Indian empire, and was permitted to share the *Khil'ats* (or robes of investiture) forwarded on the occasion from Baghdad.

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[1] Silver coins of Alá-ud-dín Mas'aúd, *infrà*.

[2] His title is usually limited by Minháj us Siráj to ملک (pp. 177, 181, 201); but on one occasion سلطان crops out incidentally in the Court list, where, in his place among the sons of the Emperor Altamsh, he is so designated (p. 178).

I should prefer, therefore, to attribute the issue of this piece to the close of his career: the lowest range of the date, as its legend declares in indirect terms, is antecedent to 641 A.H., but the technical and manipulative treatment of the crude Kufic epigraph brings it into close connexion with many of the introductory specimens of the Imperial Mint, and the tenor of the legend equally removes it from the terms of the later phraseology imported into the Dehli series. We have seen that there was some confusion as to the correct orthography of the name of the Khalif on the coins of Altamsh (Nos. 29, 30), in the irregular addition of بالله and بامر الله to the name of Mustanṣir; but the introductory coin No. 28 defines the title simply as المستنصر امير المومنين "*Al Mustanṣir*, Commander of the Faithful," a definition which is adhered to on the money of Rizíah and her successors. In this particular the present specimen follows the exceptional example of some of Altamsh's coins, No. 30, and appends to the name the ultimately discarded بالله. The imperfect arrangement of the legend, necessitating a filling-in of the vacant space, at the conclusion of the ordinary sentence, with an extraneous word, also identifies the piece with Altamsh's tentative issues, and the caligraphic conjunction of the initial ا *alif* with the body of the succeeding ل *lám* in الامام indicates the teaching of a similar school of die engravers, which is rendered more marked by the insertion of so many short vowels, a practice which was not long persevered in.

The adjunct of "Sháh" after the name of the prince,[1] and the abstinence from the use of the title of *Sultán* at this point, is suggestive, as also is the tenor of the final بن سلطان in lieu of the imperial بن السلطان, which may possibly refer to the still current employment of the simple سلطان of the days of his more humble pretensions, to be seen on so many of the father's coins, pl. i. figs. 20, 23.

ALTAMSH'S ALIEN CONTEMPORARIES ON INDIAN SOIL.

The alien intruders upon Indian territories, whether kings or generals, who have left numismatic evidence of their presence in or near the dominions of Altamsh, number no less than seven.[2] Their careers can scarcely be made to follow

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[1] Násir-ud-dín Mahmúd, the second son of the then ruling Emperor, is called by his own special biographer, Minháj us Siráj,

سلطان المعظم ناصر الدنیا و الدین محمود بن السطان

(pp. 9, 177, 178, 201, etc.), which is in contrast to the nominal adjunct so constant with his predecessors, Fírúz Sháh, Bahrám Sháh, Mas'aúd Sháh. On one occasion only does the additional Sháh appear in a substituted list of Altamsh's court (p. 178), where the text gives—1. Sultán Násir-ud-dín . . . 2. Sultán Násir-ud-dín Mahmúd; and at the end, after the name of Rukn-ud-dín Fírúz Sháh, comes "Násir-ud-dín Mahmúd *Sháh.*"

[2] William Erskine, in his latest work on "Báber and Humáyún" (London, 1854), gives a summary of the various Mongol and Túrki tribes, and their early seats, which has an important bearing on the successive invasions of India.

"The tribes which we include under the name of Tatar (properly 'Tátár'), consist chiefly of three great divisions or races, all differing from each other in manners, institutions, and language. 1. The Tunguses and Manchús in the east of Asia, north of China. 2. The Mongols, or, as they are called by the Persians and Indians, the Moghuls, who occupy chiefly the middle portion north of Tibet, nearly as far west as Terfán, and part of the desert between that and Yaik; and 3. The Túrks, who for many centuries have possessed large regions that extend on the west of the Mongols from the desert of Kobi, having for their southern boundary the mountains of Káshghar and Pámer, Khorásán, the Caspian and Black Sea; the Don and Wolga on the west, and Siberia on the north. But some few tribes, both of Mongols and of Túrks, are to be found in the limits thus any very exact sequence, but the general order of their action on the history of Hindustán will perhaps be sufficiently preserved in the arrangement now adopted.

I. Táj-ud-dín Ilduz, already noticed, p. 24.
II. Alá-ud-dín Muhammad *Khárizmi.*
III. Jalál-ud-dín Mankbarnin.
IV. Changiz Khán.
V. Hasan Ḳarlagh.
VI. Uzbeg Páï.
VII. Násir-ud-dín Kubáchah of Sind.

The dynasty of the Khárizmian kings, from their first dawn of independence to their last scion, the heroic Jalál-ud-dín, is as follows:—

	A.H.	COMMENCED A.D.
1. Kutb-ud-dín Muhammad bin Anushtagin,	491	... 9th Dec. 1097.
2. Jalál-ud-dín Atsiz (اتسز)	521	... 17th Jan. 1127.
3. Táj-ud-dín Íl Arslán (ایل ارسلان) bin Atsiz,	551	... 25th Feb. 1156.
4. Sultán Sháh bin Íl Arslán	567	... 4th Sept. 1172.
5. Alá-ud-dín *Abu'l Muzaffar* Takash bin Íl Arslán	589	... 7th Jan. 1193
6. Alá-ud-dín *Abu'l Fath* Muhammad, bin Takash	596	... 23rd Oct. 1199.
7. Jalál-ud-dín Mankbarnin, bin Alá-ud-dín Muhammad	617	... 8th Mar. 1220.

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marked out as peculiarly belonging to their respective ranges. The Túrks are the most extensive and numerous of the three races" (vol. i. p. 9, 10).

"Alá-ud-dín's troops were chiefly Túrkmáns and Cancalis" (D'Ohsson, i. 196; Price, ii. 405).

"Chengíz Khán's grand army was a mixed assemblage of many tribes and races. The Tátar tribe formed the advance" (Erskine, i. p. 534).

Saif-ud-dín Aghrak's forces, during his governorship of Peshâwar in 617 A.H., were composed of "Khoulloudjes (Arabs) and Túrkmáns." Yamín Malik's troops, the same period, were Túrk "Cancalis."—D'Ohsson, i. 299, 300, 303.

[1] Ibn Asir, *Kámil Altawáríkh*, Tornberg's Arabic text, p. 103; Fræhn. Num. Muham. 145, and Opuscula postum, by Dorn, 1855, pp. 58, 252; Price, Mahommedan Hist. ii. p. 389; Petis de la Croix.

Coins of *Alá-ud-dín Muhammad bin Takash.*

No. 61. Gold. Weight, 65 grs.; size, 6. Ghazní, A.H. 623.[1]
India Museum. Similar to Muhammad bin Sám's coin No. 1.
Fræhn. Recensio. pp. 145, 595. Ariana Antiqua, pl. xx. fig. 28.

لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله الناصر لدين الله امير المومنين *Margin*—Kurán, Súrah ix. 33, and lxi. 9.	السلطان الاعظم علا الدنيا و الدين ابو الفتح محمد بن السلطان *Margin*—بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار ببلده غزنة في شهور سنة ثلاث عشرة و ستماية

The silver coins of this Sultán, of which there are three varieties of types, scarcely affect the series of Indian issues, beyond the monogrammatic record of the ancient Mint of Perwán,[2] whose proximate silver mines contributed so much to the currencies of the south. The mixed silver and copper coins, on the other hand, are strangely identified with the early traditions of the Kábul Brahmans, and show how firmly the dominant heraldic device held its own, both among their own home tribes for succeeding generations, and equally received acceptance from so many foreign invaders of the soil.

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[1] Other dates, Ghazní 614, 616, 617 A.H. Badakhshán (undated) J.R.A.S. xviii. 202.

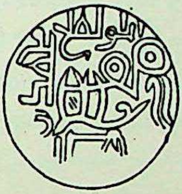
[2] Perwán, lat. 35° 9′, long. 69° 16′. J.R.A.S. ix. p. 381, and pp. 257, 301–2–3; xvii. pp. 184, 186, 200, 201. "Between 'Járiána and Panjhír,' are the mines of ore, in which the people dwell, without gardens, orchards, or tilled lands."—Ouseley, p. 225. Erskine's Báber, pp. 139, 146. Masson, iii. 166.

Yákút gives more full information as to the produce of these mines. "L'argent y est, dit-on, si abondant qu'une seule botte de légumes coûte un drachme. La mine est au sommet d'une montagne qui domine la ville . . . et cette montagne, à force d'avoir été creusée, ressemble à une vaste caverne."—La Perse. M. B. de Meynard. Paris, 1861, p. 116.

No. 62. Copper. Weight, 68 grs.

OBVERSE.
Horseman in *Tughra*, to the left.
Legend arranged in vacant corners of the general device.
السلطان الاعظم علاالدنيا و الدين

REVERSE.
Bull in *Tughra*



ابو الفتح
محمد بن
السلطان

Some specimens have outer margins with بسم الله, etc.

No. 63. Variety. No. 10, plate and No. 56, page 203, J.R.A.S. xvii.; Prinsep's Essays, pl. xxxiii. fig. 2.
Obverse—Horseman in *Tughra*.
Reverse—Full front face in *Tughra*.

The palpable and obvious legends usually inserted in the vacant spaces around the leading device are seemingly omitted in this specimen, but on closer examination the flowing lines of the figure of the Horseman are seen to be composed of crypto-writing, arranged with considerable skill, so that an ordinary observer would scarcely detect the departure from the standard design of the earlier mintages. It is more difficult, however, to say what *is* and what *is not* designed to be conveyed in this elaborate monogram,[1] but I fancy that I am able to trace a considerable portion of the authorized Muhammadan *Kalimah* محمد رسول الله[1]

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[1] These cyphers or monogrammatic enigmas found much favour with the Túrks, as may be seen in the Ottoman Sultán's complicated *Tughras* composing the ordinary central device of the currency of Constantinople. The earliest example, in this series, is that of Urkhán bin Usmán, A.H. 726 (Marsden, No. 379). The *Tughra* or monogram of سليمان بن ابراهيم خان (A.H. 1099) is described by Marsden "as produced by a fanciful distortion of the characters that express the name" (p. 404).

On the reverse is to be seen a most eccentric Chinese-looking pattern, which resolves itself, on examination, into a full-front human face. The Arabic word عدل occupies the vacant space on the forehead, while the eyebrows, nose, and cheek-bones are formed after the composite design of a strung bow, with the arrow in position pointing downwards, its forked point representing the nostrils. Two simple dots below the bow-string, one on either side of the arrow, answering for the eyes, complete the picture. Traces of Kufic writing are to be seen on the margin outside the square frame which encompasses the face.

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[1] My comments, in 1858, on a parallel piece, were to the following effect:—

"In the absence of the coin itself, it would be rash to speculate upon the true purport of this obverse, or the tenor or language of the partially-visible legend. The reverse figure of the horseman, however, offers tempting material for the exercise of analytical ingenuity.

"That the lines of which the device is composed were originally designed to convey, in more or less intelligible cypher, some Moslem formula, there can be little question. How much latitude in the definite expression of the letters was conceded to the needful artistic assimilation to the normal type, it may be difficult to say. But, though I should hesitate to pretend that my eye could follow the several letters of the full *Kalimah* of محمد رسول الله, I have no doubt that those words are covertly embodied in the lines forming portions of the general outline. The Kufic محمد is palpable, when reading upwards from the front of the butt-end of the spear; portions of the رسول may be traced along the spear itself, and the rest may be imagined under the reasonable latitude already claimed; and, lastly, the الله may be conceded in virtue of its very obvious final له, which appears over the horse's hind-quarters.

"The practice of reticulating words and names into device embellishments for the coinage was in high favour with the Sámání mint-masters; and we have numerous instances of a similar tendency among the Muhammadan races who succeeded to much of the civilization of the Bukhárá empire, with the modified boundaries or altered seats of government, incident to their progress towards the richer provinces of the south. To confine myself to a single exemplification, however, I may cite the Ghaznaví (Láhor) currency, with the recumbent Bull in Tughra on the obverse, and with a Kufic legend on the reverse. In the lines of this ancient and revered Hindú device may here be read, in all facility and in two several directions, the name of the prophet of the Arabs, محمد."—Prinsep's Essays, pl. xxxiii. fig. 2.

No. 64. Silver and Copper.[1] Weight, 49 grs.
For engraving, see Ariana Antiqua, pl. xx. fig. 4.

OBVERSE.	REVERSE.
No device. Legend in a square area. السلطان الا عظم سكندر الثاني	Bull in *Tughra*, much debased, and similar in outline to the Peshâwar coins of Muhammad bin Sám (No. 12). Traces of Hindi letters at the top सम ? at the foot علاال ?

No. 65. Copper.

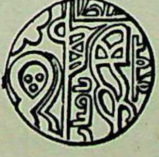
OBVERSE.	REVERSE.
السلطان الاعظم ابو الفتح محمد	The Kurman style of Bull, with the word كرمان inscribed on its side.

No. 66. Variety, with the Mint كرمان introduced *below* the Bull.

No. 67. Silver and copper.

OBVERSE.	REVERSE.
No device. Legend within a square. السلطان الاعظم علاالدنيا والدين	Horseman, to the left. محمد بن السلطان Below the horse تكش

No. 68. Silver and copper. Weight, 53 grs.



OBVERSE,	REVERSE.
as in No. 67.	Horseman to the right. محمد بن السطان In a line with the spear باميان

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[1] 606 A.H. "On inséra dans son monogramme (Tougra), à la suite de son nom, l'épithète *d'ombre de Dieu sur la terre*, et l'on voulut, selon la coutume, ajouter à ses titres celui de second Alexandre. Il préféra le surnom de Sindjar, qui lui parut de meilleur augure, parce que le prince seldjoukide avait règné quarante-un ans."—D'Ohsson, i. 182.

No. 69. Silver and copper. Small coin, Dehliwal form.

OBVERSE.	REVERSE.
السلطان	The usual Indian type of Horseman to the right. Traces of स्री हमीर:
علاالدنياو	
الدين سكندر	
الثاني	

No. 70. Variety, in copper. Engraved as No. 8, pl. xx. Ariana Antiqua.

Other varieties of Alá-ud-dín Muhammad's coinage, to which it is unnecessary to refer in detail, bear the names of the mints of زمين‌داور *Zamindáwar*, هراة *Hirát*, پرشور *Parshor* (Pesháwar), طالقان *Tálikán*, and سفورقان *Sufúrkán* (Shubbergán). See J.R.A.S. xvii. p. 203, etc.

Coins of Jalál-ud-dín Mankbarnin.[1]

No. 71. Silver. Weight, 47 grs. Unique. Masson collection. E. I. Museum.

OBVERSE.	REVERSE.
جلال الدنيا	الناصر
والدين منكبرنن	لدين الله
بن السلطان	امير المومنين

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[1] Almost all the Oriental authorities concur in writing this name as *Mankbarni*, and D'Ohsson explains its meaning under that transcription as *Mangou*, "l'eternel," *birti* ou *virdi*, "donné."—Dieu-donné, i. 195. The final consonant, in the name, on this coin is absolutely identical in form with the terminal letters of دين, بن, سلطان and المومنين. There are, however, no dots, and the last syllable may possibly be intended for نن *nin*, which compromise I have adopted throughout.

No. 72. Silver and copper. Weight, 45 grs. Rare.

Obverse—Horseman to the left, in broad lines.

Reverse—Legend in square Monumental Kufic . . . الا . . -جلال

No. 73. Silver and copper. Weight, 44 grs.

Obverse—Horseman to the left, treated more after the Indian style. Traces of स्री, etc.

Reverse—In ordinary Persian letters,

السلطان الاعظم جلال الدنيا و الدين

Coins of Jalál-ud-dín Mankbarnin (minted in India).

No. 74. Silver and Copper. Weight, 54 grs.

Horseman.	Bull.
श्री हमीरः	स्री जलालदी
Srí Hamírah.	*Srí Jaláladín.*

N.B.—I had some doubts, in early days, as to whether these coins should be preferably attributed to *Ríziah*, Jalál-ud-dín *Fírúz*, or to Jalál-ud-dín *Khárizm Sháh*. I have now definitively fixed upon the latter assignment on more exact Palæographic grounds, in addition to the arguments already brought forward against the claim of Fírúz upon the typical evidence.—Patán Sultáns, 1st edition, p. 30.

No. 75. Copper.

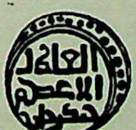
Obverse.	Reverse.
السلطان	منكبرنن
الاعظم	بن السلطان

Obverse—Dotted margin within double lines.

Reverse—Dotted margin inside a single circle.

Coins of Changiz Khán.

No. 76. Silver. Weight, 47 grs. Rare. India Museum.



العادل	الناصر
الاعظم	لدين الله
جنكز خان	امير المومنين

No. 77. Silver and copper. Weight, 63 grs.

(Similar in treatment.)

عدل خاقان الاعظم	Same legend.

No. 78. Copper. Kurmán.

عدل خاقا ن المعظم كرمان	Similar legend.

The name of كرمان is written in precisely the same combined form as that in use on the later coins of Alá-ud-dín; that is to say, with the end of the ر run into the succeeding م.

Saif-ud-dín Hasan Karlagh.

Saif-ud-dín Hasan Ḳarlagh,[1] one of the leading generals of Jalál-ud-dín Mankbarnin, was left in charge of the dependencies of Ghor and Ghazní by that Monarch on his departure from India, en route for I'rák̤, in A.H. 620.[1] He is noticed casually by Minháj us Siráj about the year A.H. 624, as securing his possessions from the plundering Moghuls of Oktai, by coming to terms with the invaders,[2] and he seems to have been able to hold his own, in an uncertain way, till A.H. 636, when the Moghul advance in force finally drove him down towards Sind and Multán.[3] This occurred during the reign of Rizíah, and his eldest son seems to have been deputed to attend the court of that Queen, where he was received with distinction, and complimented with the charge of the district of Baran (now Bulandshahr); shortly afterwards he disappeared, with little ceremony, and rejoined his father. Saif-ud-dín Ḳarlagh was eventually killed, during this same year, at the siege of Multán, by a troop d'élite of Eiz-ud-dín Balban, *Kishlú Khán*, the governor of U'chh[1] and Multán, on

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[1] Lorsque Ogouz fils de Cara-khan . . . etait en guerre avec ses parents . . . il triompha de ses ennemis, conquit plusieurs pays, et devint un monarque puissant. Il convoqua, pour lors, une assemblée générale, où il témoigna sa satisfaction à ses parents, à ses officiers et à ses troupes, et donna à ceux de sa famille que l'avaient secouru, le nom d'*Ouïgours*, qui veut dire, en turc, *alliés*, *auxiliaires*. Çe nom demeura à tous leurs descendants, quoique, dans la suite, diverses circonstances leur aient fait donner des noms particuliers, comme ceux de *Corloucs*, *Calladjes*, *Kiptchacs*, etc.; mais le nom générique d'Ouïgours ne leur en est pas moins resté.—D'Ohsson (quoting the Jam'i ul Tuwárikh), i. 436. On compte encore parmi les branches des Ogouzes: 1, Les Ouïgoures; 2, les Cancalis; 3, les Kiptchacs; 4, les Carlouks; 5, les Calladjes; et 6, les Agatcheris. Ces nations turques habitaient la partie occidentale de l'Asie centrale. Le territoire de Ouïgours s'étendait jusqu'aux monts Altaï; a l'est de cette chaîne on trouvait des peuples qui appartenaient, les uns, à la race turque, les autres, à la race tatare ou mongole (i. p. 423–4).

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[1] The following is the Arabic text of Abulfeda relating to Hasan Ḳarlagh, iv. 384:

و لما عزم جلال الدين علي العودالي جهة العراق استناب بهلوان
ازبك علي ما كان يملكه من بلاد الهند و استناب معه حسن قراق
و لقبه وفا ملك وفي سنة سبع و عشرين و ستماية طرد وفا ملك
بهلوان ازبك و استولي وفاملك علي ما كان يليه البهلوان من بلاد الهند

This is the *Hassan Carrac* of Deguignes. "Lorsque Dgelaleddin eût appris que les Mogols avoient repassé le Gihon, il vint à Lahor dans le dessein d'aller soumettre l'Eraque. Il laissa dans ses nouvelles conquêtes deux officiers, Pehlevan Uzbek et Hassan Carrac, surnommé Ouapha Moulk. Ce dernier dans la suite chassa Uzbek, et s'empara de tout ce qu'il avoit aux Indes" (l'an 627 de l' Hegire). Book xiv. p. 281, vol. ii.—D'Ohsson says, "Djélal laissa à Euzbec le gouvernement de ses possessions dans l'Inde, et à Vefa-Mélik, celui des pays de Gour et de Ghazna (620 A.H.)." iii. p. 4.

[2] Tabak̤át-i-Nasiri (Calcutta text) p. 388.

ملك سيف الدين، حسن قرلغ رحمة الله عليه چند كرت چون
ديد كه استيلاى كفاررا جز بطريق خدمت دفع نميتوان كرد با
ايشان بوجه خدمت پيش باز آمد و شِحنَگان قبول كرد

Khidmat is here used in the sense of tribute, as in the recognised *Khidmatdna*, etc. شحنَكان is a word the derivation of which is not quite clear, but the meaning here seems to refer to "receivers" or collectors, rather than to Prætors, or "the Police," as Johnson interprets the term شحنگي.

[3] Tabakát-i-Násiri, p. 392.

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[1] As the town of U'chh has of late sunk into obscurity, I quote a brief account of its monuments from a description of U'ch-Sharíf, in 1836, by *Munshi* Mohan Lál:—"*Uch*, surnamed *Uch-Sharif*, or holy *Uch* (lat. 31° 12′, long. 72° 3′), which, being near the junction of the united streams Hesudrus, Hyphasis, and Hydraotes, Acesines, and Hydaspes, attracts the notice of geographers, contains numerous sepulchres of the Muhammadan saints. The oldest of all is that of Sháh Saif ul Háqqárí. A miserable wall without the roof environs the dust of the above saint. If I write the respective names of the saints of *Uch*, along with their incredible miracles, I fear to enlarge my remarks; however, I presume to lay before you the endeavours of my feeble pen in regard to Sháh Síad Jalál and his reputed descendants. He died 600 years ago, and is said to have lived to the age of 150. His tomb, which is inside a large but gloomy room, is elevated about five spans from the surface of the ground. It is a very simple building, adorned with the poor, frail and old canopy. Both of his sides have ten graves of his offspring. They are distinguished by one rising above the other, which fill the entire position of the room. None of them have any kind of inscription.

"The tomb where the body of the Makhdúm rests is a very poor structure, but raised about seven feet high from the ground, which is concealed by numerous other graves. There is nothing admirable in the shrine of the Makhdúm. Three small openings give light inside the apartment. The following Persian inscription, written on the door, presents us with the date of the Makhdúm's death:

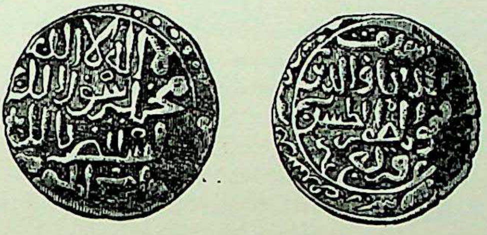
تاریک گشت جمله جهان بیجمال شاه
تأریخ بود هفتصد و هشتاد و پنج سال

"'When the world was covered by darkness without the countenance of the Sháh (or Makhdúm). The date was 785 of the Hijrí era.'

"The mausoleum of Makhdúm Jahánián Jahán Gasht is annually visited by the pilgrims of the distant country. It is very odd that the tombs of the saints of the holy *Ūch*, who possessed such boundless reputation and respect in days of old, have been not adorned with any kind of architectural beauty, either by their posterity or believers, except that of 'Bíbí Jind Vadí,' (or the lady of the long life). It is situate on the verge of a precipice, which commands the old bed of the Punjáb rivers, and gives a romantic view. The southern part of this magnificent sepulchre has been unfortunately swept away by the late inundations. The door opens towards the East, and has a sight of the other two cupolas. They excel in material and handsomeness the others of *Uch*, except that of 'Bíbí Jínd Vadí.' 'Bíbí Jind Vadí' was one of the descendants of Sháh Síad Jalál, the part of Rizíah. Saif-ud-dín's generals, however, having succeeded in concealing the fact of his death, were able to secure the surrender of the town.[1]

Saif-ud-dín Al-Hasan Ḳarlagh.

No. 79. *Silver*. Weight, 169·5 grs. (Six specimens E. India Collection.) A.H. 633, 634.



لا اله الا الله	سيف
محمد رسول الله	الدنيا والدين
المستنصر بالله	ابو المظفر الحسن
امير المومنين	قرلغ .
Dotted margin	Margin—هذه الدرهم في شهور سنه ثلث وثلثين وستمايه

These coins are apparently Camp Mintages, as they bear no trace of the name of a Mint city: in their weight and general outline they seem to have been imitations of Altamsh's new currency.

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of whom I have already spoken. The dome in which she sleeps is erected of burnt bricks, which are cemented by mortar. The whole of the edifice is ornamented by various hues and lapis lazuli of the celebrated mines of *Badakhshán*. The size of this grand building may be estimated at about 50 feet high, and the circumference 25."

[2] Tabakát-i-Násiri, p. 270.

No. 80. Copper (or mixed copper and silver).[1]

Rajput	سيف
Horseman	الدنيا والدين
with श्री हमीरः	ابو المظفر الحسن
Srí Hamírah.	قرلغ

No. 81. Silver and copper. Coin in the East India Collection.

Rajput	(سيف)
Horseman.	الدنيا و الدين
Traces of	ابو المظفر الحسن
श्री हमोरः	بن محمد

If this coin is correctly attributed, it would prove that Hasan Ḳarlagh's father's name was Muhammad.

No. 82. The most curious coins of Hasan Ḳarlagh, however, are those of the "Bull and Horseman" type, with Hindi legends, which follow the model of the *Dehlíwálas* of Kubáchah of Sind. The name is oddly expressed, and the letters themselves are peculiar in their forms; but I have little doubt that the correct reading of the legend is as follows:

श्री हसण कुरल *Ṣrí Hasaṇ Kurla.*

These coins, I believe, have never either been figured or published. They are common enough, as I have some six of them in my own limited collection.[2]

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[1] These are the coins entitled Dehliwálas, following on to the previous models of Násir-ud-dín Ḳubáchah of Sind.—Ariana Antiqua, pl. xx. 19; Prinsep's Essays, pl. xxvi. 47.

[2] After the above descriptive details of the coins of Hasan Ḳarlagh and his son Muhammad had been set up in type, I discovered that General Cunningham had already put upon record, in his Archæological Report to the Government of

Násir-ud-dín Muhammad bin Hasan Ḳarlagh.

I anticipate the due order of epochal sequence, in order to dispose of the coins of Hasan Ḳarlagh's son in immediate connection with those of his father.

India (1863–4), certain speculations upon the attribution of these pieces, which are in many respects so opposed to my own deductions as to make me desire that the General should state his case in his own words, without further comment on my part, beyond a momentary expression of dissent from the association of the Bilingual coins of *Násir-ud-dín* (Arian. Ant. 432; Prinsep's Essays, i. 37, pl. ii. 14), with the other specimens, which, on palæographical grounds, I should be disposed to sever, both in time and locality, from the rest of the crude Sindian issues.

"The first invasion of Indo-Scythians must have caused a very general displacement of the ruling races. . . . The vanquished would naturally have sought refuge in the less accessible districts around, and to this period, therefore, I would refer the settlement of the *Awáns* and *Janjuhas* in the Salt Range to the south, and of the *Gakars* in the hilly tracts of Pharwála and Dángali to the north-east.

"Of their subsequent history but little is recorded; we know only that they were divided into several branches, and that they had all become Muhammadans. In the time of Báber, the ruling tribe, called the *Karluki Hazáras*, held the districts on both banks of the lower Suhán River, under their chiefs Sangar Khán Ḳarluki and Mirza Malvi Karluki. At a still earlier period the chiefs of this tribe, Hasan Karluk and his son Muhammad, had asserted their independence by striking coins in their own names. The coins of the father are of the well-known 'Bull and Horseman' type, with the legend in Nágari letters, '*Sri Hasan Karluk.*' The coins of the son are of three different kinds, two with Persian characters only, and the third with Persian on one side and Nágari on the other. On the last coin there is a rude figure of a horse surrounded by the chief's name, *Náser ud duniá wa ud dín*, in Persian letters, and on the reverse his name in three lines of Nágari letters, *Sri Muhammad Karluk.* On one of the Persian coins this chief calls himself *Muhammad binHasan Karluk* (قرلغ), and on the other he takes the titles of *ul-Malik ul-Mua'zam Muhammad bin Hasan.* From the types and general appearance of these coins their date may be fixed with certainty as coëval with those of Altamish and his sons, or from A.D. 1210 to 1265. The accuracy of this date is strongly confirmed by Ferishtah's account of the first campaign of Náser-ud-dín Mahmúd, the youngest son of Altamish. In July, A.D. 1247, Mahmúd proceeded to Multán, and then to the bank of the Chenáb, from whence he sent his Vazir towards the mountains of Jud and the provinces on the Indus. . . . According to this account, the rebellion lasted for about twelve years, from the death of Altamish, in A.D. 1235, until the close of Mahmúd's campaign in the end of 1247. It is to this period that I refer the assumption of independence by Hasan Karluk and his son Muhammad. The age of the coins, as I have observed, corresponds exactly with the date of this rebellion, and the coins themselves before are found in greatest number in the rebellious districts of the mountains of Jud" (pp. 8, 9).

There is little to be gathered concerning the history of Násir-ud-dín Muhammad, the son of Hasan Ḳarlagh. He seems to have succeeded to his father's dominions in Sind, and to have been held in consideration as a powerful monarch.[1] He was still reigning on the arrival of the Ambassadors of Húlágú Khán in A.H. 658.[2]

Násir-ud-dín Muhammad bin Hasan Ḳarlagh.

No. 83. Copper. Weight, 53 grs. Coarse Persian legends covering the entire surfaces of the coin.

ناصر	محمد
الدنیا و	بن حسن
الدین	قرلغ

No. 84. Copper. Weight, 46 grs. Small coin, with dotted margins, similar to the pieces of Jalál-ud-dín (No. 47, J.R.A.S. p. 383, vol. ix.) and Changiz Khán (p. 385, ibid.).

الملک	مُحمّد
المعظم	حسن

Uzbeg Paí, Commandant in India, on the part of Jalál-ud-dín Mankbarnin.

General Cunningham, who, in the course of his official duties, was once permanently stationed at Multán, secured, during his residence at that ancient city, among many other local curiosities, some small coins hitherto unassigned, which, in spite of a somewhat unorthodox orthography, I am inclined to appropriate to Uzbeg Paí,[1] the commandant associated with Hasan Ḳarlagh on Jalál-ud-dín's departure from India. They may be described as follows:—

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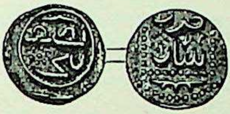
[1] Tabakát-i-Násiri, p. 320.

چون ملک ناصر الدین محمد یکی از ملوک نامدار عصر خود بود

[2] Ibid. pp. 316–321. See also Elphinstone's History of India, p. 379.

No. 85. Silver and copper (or copper?). Weight, 25 grs. (2 specimens.)



Circular area.	Square area, with dotted lines and dotted margin.
يصبق	ضرب
پئي	ملتان
"*Yuṣbaḳ Paí.*" [2]	"*Struck at Multán.*"
Marginal legend defaced.	

Summary of the Events of the Reign of Kubáchah.[3]

A.H. 600. Appointed to the Government of Uchh by Mu'izz-ud-dín, shortly after his defeat at Andkhod; takes possession of the entire country from Sirhind, Kohrám, and Sirsuti, to Daibal and the sea; and assumes the ensigns of royalty.[4]

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[1] See ante, p. 93; and Elliot's Historians, ii. pp. 395-6, 554, 563.

[2] پی *pèy* for پاي "a foot," is quite authorized.

[3] The derivation of this name, or rather *laḳab,* or nickname, is uncertain. Taking it as coming from قَبَا, "coat, cloak, or jacket," it would mean "small or short tunic," possibly a *postín* (پوستین); but if we are to accept the *Hindi* transcription of *Kubáchah*, it would answer to "rather fat," "plump."

[4] The Tuhfat ul Kirám (A.H. 1188) gives the following details regarding the tributaries of Kubáchah:—"During the reign of Árám Sháh his dominions were parcelled into four divisions: one of which, comprising Multán, the whole of Sind and Uchh, became subject to Násir-ud-dín Kubáchah. At that time the following seven Ránás in Sind were tributary to Multán:—1. Ráná Bubnar Sa'ta Ráthor, of Dabra, in the district of Durbela; 2. Ráná Sanír, son of Dhamáj, of the tribe of

A.H. 613. Láhor taken by Shams-ud-dín Altamsh, who appoints his eldest son, Násir-ud-dín Mahmúd, to the charge. Kubáchah encounters the troops of Táj-ud-dín Ilduz, and is defeated. Many celebrated personages take refuge at his Court. Jalál-ud-dín defeated on the Indus, in Rajab, 618 A.H. He subsequently enters Sind; and his general, Uzbeg Paí, overcomes Kubáchah near Uchh.

,, 621. The Mughals under *Túli Nowín* besiege Multán for forty days.

,, 623. Army of Khiljís, under ***Malik Khán Khilj***, invade Mansúrah and Sehwán. Kubáchah routs them.

,, 624. Minháj us Siráj, the future author of the Tabakát-i-Náṣiri, arrives at the Court of Kubáchah at Uchh.

,, 624. Rabí'ul awwal, Shams-ud-dín, presents himself before Uchh. Kubáchah is besieged in the Fort of Bhakar.

,, 625. (27, Jumád ul awwal), Uchh surrenders. (Jumád al Ákhir), Bhakar taken. Kubáchah drowns himself.[1]

No. 86. Silver and copper, with a large proportion of silver. Weight, 50 grs.

86*a*. Silver and copper, the copper predominating. Weight, 53 grs.

For engravings see Ariana Antiqua; Prinsep's Essays, xxvi. 28, 29 Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol. iv. pl. xxxvii. 28, 29.

HORSEMAN.	BULL.
स्री हमीरः	**स्री कुबाचा सुरिता**
Sri Hamírah.	*Sri Kubáchá Suritán.*
Subordinate Mint mark below the Horseman *ω*.	At times, when space will allow, the final **ण** is duly inserted.

Kureja Samma, residing in Túng, lying within the district of Rúpáh; 3. Jaisar, son of Jajji Máchhi Solankí, of Mániktara; 4. Wakía, son of Pannún Channún, who was established in the valley of Síwí; 5. Channún, son of Díta, of the tribe of Ghanna, resident at Bhág-nai; 6. Jíya, son of Wariáh, of Jham, or Hemakot; 7. Jasodhan Ákra, of Mín-nagar district of Bámbarwá."—Elliot's Historians, i. 340.

[1] Minháj us Siráj, Persian text, pp. 142, etc; Táj ul Maásir, MS.; Elliot's Historians, i. 340; ii. pp. 155, 201, 233, 241, 281, 302, 325, 396, 554, 563; Desguignes, i. 414, "Cobah"; D'Ohsson, iii. 4, "Caradja."

These coins seem to be direct imitations of the original *Dehliwálas*; they vary in the apparent quality of the metal, from nearly pure silver to a very close approach to simple copper, in the same way that the composite pieces of Altamsh exemplify the prevailing system of giving effect to the gradational values of the public money, by the mere modification of the proportions of silver and copper assigned to each division of the currency, without any corresponding alteration in the weight, form, or stamp of the discriminated pieces, or any indication calculated to guide the trader beyond the mere glint and superficial touch of the coin tendered.

Kubáchah's circulating media seem to have been exclusively confined to this species of coin, which, though possibly minted according to the varying boundaries of his dominions, from Sirhind to Bhakar, are invariably termed *Dehliwálas* ([1]دهليوال), and evidently constituted the only coined money in ordinary use, as we find his son, 'Alá-ud-dín Muhammad, presenting Altamsh with ten million Dehliwálas as a peace-offering; and when the contents of Kubáchah's treasury came to be examined by his conquerors, they are reported to have found the large sum of fifty million pieces ("500 laks") of this description of money.

No. 87. Silver and copper. Weight, 50 grs.

For illustrations see Ariana Antiqua, pl. xx. 19; Prinsep's Essays, pl. xxvi. 47; J.A.S. Bengal, iv. pl. xxxvii. 47.

HORSEMAN. With the local form of स्री हमोरः Below the Horse there is occasionally a small device, varying from ○ to the *star*, so frequent on the parallel Ilduz series.	ناصر الدنيا و الدين قباجه السلطان Dotted margin.

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[1] M.S. Táj ul Maásir; Elliot's Historians, ii. 242; Prinsep's Essays, i. 326.

The Hindi legends on these bilingual coins are marked by several peculiarities in the outlines of the letters, which remove them from eastern sites and the normal style of writing current in Dehli and Ajmír, and associate them more directly with the proximate localities of Sind and the lower Punjab. The ब *b* is formed like a modern प *p*, with a dot in its centre; the च *ch* is similar to an ordinary Bengali ব *b*, in which respect it accords with Cháhar Deva's Ajmír type of the letter. The ह *h* in the *Hamírah* follows the fashion of the Gupta Inscription at Allahabad, and reverses the ordinary turn of the lower limb of the letter.

FIFTH KING (A.H. 633-634; A.D. 1235–1236).

Rukn-ud-dín Fírúz Sháh, after having been exercised in the duties of government during his father's lifetime, at Budaon (625 A.H.) and Láhor (630 A.H), became heir apparent on the decease of his elder brother, Násir-ud-dín Mahmúd, in 626 A.H., and finally succeeded to the *masnad* in Sh'abán, 633 A.H. His brief reign of six months and twenty-eight days, marked only by his indulgence in low tastes and debaucheries, may be said to have been altogether barren of public events, with the exception of the various coalitions of the nobles, organized to defeat the intrigues and cruelties of the Queen Mother (Sháh Turkán), which indirectly led to the Sultán's dethronement.

The Persian coins of this king are rare; engravings were given in my original work on the Pathán Kings (see pl. i. Nos. 24, 25, 26), but the attribution of the pieces was confessed to be uncertain. New examples, however, have fully confirmed the assignment then proposed, and enable me to improve the previous reading from السلطان المعظم ركن الدين بن السلطان to the following, which is taken from one of Col. Guthrie's coins.

No. 88. Silver and copper. Weight, 50 grs.

Horseman. With traces of स्री हंमीरः *Srí Hammírah.*	السلطان الاعظم ركن الدنيا و الدين . . . . .

The المظم of the earlier described coins is quite correct, the Sultán, like his father before him, having advanced his honorary title. The imperfect rendering of ركن الدين بن may be authoritatively corrected into the usual الدنيا و الدين. I am now also able to cite specimens of Rukn-ud-dín's *Hindi* currency.

No. 89. Silver and copper. Weight, 51 grs. Very rare.
Stewart collection, B.M.

Horseman. स्री हंमीरः *Srí Hammírah.*	Bull couchant. सुरिताण स्री रुकण दीण *Suritáṇ Srí Rukaṇa dín.* On the *Jhúl* of the Bull ||| ?

SIXTH REIGN (A.H. 634–637; A.D. 1236-1239).

The celebrated Queen Regnant of Muhammadan India—Riẓíah, the daughter of Altamsh—succeeded to the possession of the capital on the fall of Sháh Turkán, the mother of Rukn-ud-dín, in the third month of A.H. 634. The ministers at her father's court had been scandalized at the preference he had proposed to extend to a daughter, in supercession of the claims of adult male heirs to the throne; but the Sultán justified his appointment—the execution of which was, however, evaded—alike on account of the demerits of his sons, and the gifts and acquirements of his daughter, who had been brought up under a degree of freedom from the seclusion enjoined for females by the more severe custom of ordinary Muslim households, aided by the advantages incident to the exalted position occupied by her mother as the chief and independently-domiciled wife. The sovereignty of females, it must be remembered, was not altogether at variance with the ideas of the semi-nomad race, whose leading court in Central Asia gave a tone to the feelings of their Muslim fellow countrymen, so many of whom were now domesticated in the south. From the days of Tomyris the right to govern was admittedly open to the sex, and proximate examples were offered for Indian imitation in the persons of the two princesses of Khárizm, *Malika Turkán* (567 A.H.) and *Turkán Khátún*, the latter of whom held more absolute sway[1] than her own son, 'Alá-ud-dín, whose outposts encircled nearly half of Asia.

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[1] D'Ohsson, i. 198, etc. The use of an independent seal and signet shows that there was no possible reserve in the claims put forth. The tenor of the legend of which has been preserved. "Son monogramme (Tougra), qu'elle écrivait de sa main sur ses ordonnances, se composait de ces mots: *Protectrice du monde et de*

Rizíah's direct rise dated from the capture of the Queen Mother, so that, in effect, the transfer of dominion was from one female to another. The author of the Tabakát-i-Násiri, a forgiven rebel,[1] enlarges warmly upon the many merits and accomplishments of his Sovereign, lamenting, however, that all these excellencies should have been nullified by the single defect that the court chroniclers of the period were unable to return her birth in the list of males.[2]

After the brief reign of Rukn-ud-dín Fírúz, who freely exemplified by his misconduct his father's prophetic reproach, Rizíah succeeded in establishing her supremacy, and Eastern eyes witnessed the singular spectacle of an unveiled and diademed Empress—the first in India—directing the hosts of Islám under the canopy of the immemorial regal seat on an elephant. Rizíah's early inauguration was attended with no inconsiderable danger and difficulty, arising from the opposition of the Vazír and the organized military resources of the various governors of provinces, who hesitated in conceding their allegiance. Eventually, however, to quote the expression of Minháj us Siráj, quiet was established throughout the empire, and Rizíah's sway was acknowledged from

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la foi, Turkan reine des femmes de l'univers: et sa devise était: *Dieu seul est mon refuge.* Elle prenait le titre de *Khoudavend Djihan* ou souveraine du monde." See also Price, ii. pp. 393, *et seq.*

[1] (A.H. 635). "There being no possibility of resistance, this well-wisher of the victorious government, Minháj-i Siráj, together with the Chief Justice of Gwalior and others, came out of the fort and proceeded to Dehli."—Elliot's Historians, ii. 335.

[2] اما چون از حساب مردان در خلقت نصیب نیافته بود اینهمه صفات گزیده چه سودش کند Ferishtah, Briggs, i. 217. Text, p. 185.

"Daibal to Lakhnautí." Things were thus prosperous with her, when the drawback of her sex first developed itself. It was not that a virgin Queen was forbidden to love—she might have indulged herself in a submissive Prince Consort, or revelled almost unchecked in the dark recesses of the Palace Harem—but wayward fancy pointed in a wrong direction, and led her to prefer a person employed about her Court, an Abyssinian moreover,[1] the favours extended to whom the Túrki nobles resented with one accord.

In A.H. 637, the Empress proceeded in person to quell an outbreak on the part of Ikhtíar-ud-dín Altúníah, governor of Sirhind. In the engagement that ensued, Jalál-ud-dín Yakút, the Abyssinian, was killed, and Rizíah, as a prisoner, possibly with scant ceremony, found herself introduced into the *Zanána* of the conqueror, who shortly afterwards advanced upon Dehli in the hope of recovering the sovereignty, to which he had thus acquired an adventitious claim; but his army was in turn defeated, and he himself and Rizíah met their deaths near Kaithal, in the month of Rab'i-al-Awwal, A.H. 638.[2]

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[1] A like prejudice against this race does not seem to have been felt by Arabs in Baghdád, as the Khalif Mustanṣír, whose name figures in the place of hierarchical honour on the coins of Rizíah, had a successor born to him by an Ethiopian slave. It is true that Must'assim did not do much credit to his hybridism.—D'Ohsson, iii. 207, 243.

[2] Tabakát-i-Násiri, pp. 183–5, 251; Elliot's Historians, ii. 334; Briggs's Ferishtah, i. 220; Ibn Batutah, iii. 167–8. The traveller from Tangiers (in or about 734 A.H. = 1333 A.D), remarks, "Son tombeau est actuellement visité par des pèlerins, et regardé comme un lieu de sanctification. Il est situé sur le bord du grand fleuve appelé Djoûn, à une parasange de la ville de Dihly." See also Syud Ahmad's "Asár-us-Sunnadeed," p. 65, and Journal Asiatique (1860), p. 395.

No. 90. Silver. (Pl. i. fig. 27, and pl. vi. fig. 1). Weights, 165 grs. and 167 grs. Lakhnautí.[1] Very rare. Prinsep, B.M., Col. Guthrie, and Gen. T. P. Smith's coin, *dated* A.H. 635.

Square area, formed of double lines, within a circle.

في عهد الامام

المستنصر امير

الـــمـــومنين

Margin—

ضرب هذا الفضه بلكنوتي سنة . .

السلطان الا عظـــم

جلالة الدنـــيـــاو الديـــن

ملكه ابنت التمش السلطان

مهرة امير المومنين

No margin. The legend occupies the whole obverse.

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[1] It would seem from the orthography adopted in this the earliest record of the name of *Laknauti* (لكنوتي) that the original Semitic transcription was designed to follow the classical derivation of *Lakshmaṇavati* (लक्ष्मणवती), which was soon, however, adapted to the more colloquial *Lachhman* (لچهمن) by the addition of an *h* after the *k*, as لكهنوتي ; in which form it appears under the first local Sultáns (coins of Kai Káús, pl. vi. fig. 2). Minháj us Siráj deposes to its elevation to the rank of the capital in supercession of Nuddeah by Muhammad Bakhtíár in the following terms—چون محمد بختيار آن مملكترا ضابط كرد شهر نوديه‌را خراب بگذاشت و بر موضعي كه لكهنوتي است دارالملك ساخت (printed text, p. 151). The same author, at p. 162, gives a full account of the remarkable size, advancement, and general topography of the city as existing in 641 A.H. on the occasion of his own visit.

It is difficult to say when the name of the town was changed to *Gaur*, a denomination which is never made use of by the older authorities. Ab'ul Fazl says, "Formerly it was called Lucknouty, and sometimes Gour" (A.A. ii. p. 11); while Badaoni gives a ridiculous version of the origin of the designation as being derived from *Ghori* غوري . He states—و محمد بختيار معابد و بتخانهای كفاررا ويران ساخته مساجد و خوانق و مدارس كرد و دارالملك بنام خويش تعمير فرمود كه كور نام دارد . The obvious imperfection of the critical philology of the derivation, however, debars its reception, as does the

No. 91. Silver and copper. (Pl. i., Nos. 28 and 29.) Weight, 47 and 49 grs. Very rare.

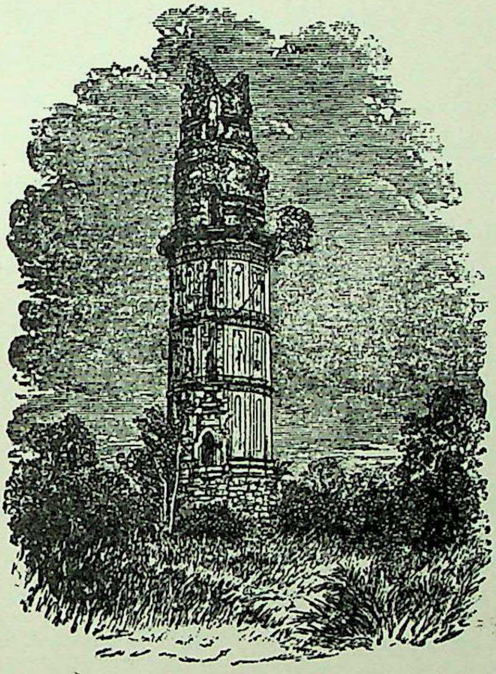
Obverse—السلطان الاعظم رضيه الدنيا و الدين

Reverse—Horseman and Sri Hamirah.

Until lately, the term Rizíah was looked upon as conveying a name and not a title. The coins above quoted appear to demonstrate the contrary to be the fact: the silver medal negatively, inasmuch as it does not give Rizíah as a name; and the copper coins positively, in displaying the Rizíah joined to the ud dunya, etc. The Tabakát-i-Násiri, in enumerating the names of Altamsh's family, designates her as سلطان رضي الدين, and heads the chapter of her biography with the same designation of الساطان رضية الدنيا و الدين.

It will be remarked that the coins give the title of Sultán in the masculine gender, whereas all the rest of the Persian legend is duly couched in the feminine. This curious affectation of the superior sex in regard to her regal position accords with the accounts of Indian writers, that "changing her natural apparel" she "assumed the imperial robes." Moreover, Minháj us Siráj generally speaks of her as بادشاه (p. 195).

caustic alternative of گور = "grave," which the often deserted site, under the speedy action of water and a semi-tropical vegetation, may have deservedly earned for it. But it is quite legitimate to infer that as गौड was the ancient name for central Bengal (Wilson, Glossary, *sub voce*; Albírúni, Reinaud, Mem. sur l'Inde, p. 298), and so intimately associated with the tribal divisions of the indigenous Brahmans, that the designation originated in the popular application of the name of the country to its own metropolis, and that the town continued to be called *Gaur* in vernacular speech in spite of the new names so frequently bestowed upon it by its alien lords.



MINARET AT GOUR, THE ANCIENT CAPITAL OF BENGAL.

"*One of the most interesting of the antiquities of the place* (*Gour*) *is a minar, standing in the fort. For two-thirds of the height it is a polygon of twelve sides; above that circular, till it attains the height of* 84 *feet. The door is some distance from the ground, and altogether it looks more like an Irish round tower than any other example known. . . . It is evidently a pillar of victory—a Jaya Sthamba—such as the Kootub Minar at Dehli, and those at Coel, Dowlutabad, and elsewhere. There is, or was, an inscription on this monument, which ascribed its erection to Firúz Sháh. If this be so, it must be the king of that province who reigned in Gour* A.H. 702–715,[1] *and the character of the architecture fully bears out this adscription.*"—*Fergusson*, ii. 628.

THE PROVINCIAL COINAGE OF BENGAL.

As Altamsh seems to have been the first to provide an imperial coinage for Hindustán, so his daughter Rizíah would appear to have taken the initiative in extending the silver currency to the kingdom of Bengal. At least, as far as can be seen, her coins, minted at Lakhnautí, are the earliest specimens extant of the provincial issues of the south.

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[1] Initial Coinage of Bengal, 1866.

When Muhammad bin Sám had so far consolidated his early successes in India into a design of permanent occupancy, leaving a viceroy and generalissimo in Dehli, in the person of Kutb-ud-dín Aibek, while his own Court was still held at Ghazní, the scattered subordinate commanders each sought to extend the frontiers of *the faith* beyond the limits already acquired. In pursuance of this accepted mission, Muhammad Bakhtíar Khiljí, *Sipahsálár* in Oude, in A.H. 599, pushed his forces southward, and expelled, with but little effort, the ancient Hindu dynasty of Nuddeah, superseding that city as the capital, and transferring the future metropolis of Bengal to the proximate site of Lakhnautí, where he ruled undisturbed by higher authority, till his own career was prematurely cut short in A.H. 602.

Considering the then existing time-honoured system of valuations by shells[1]—which would certainly not invite a hasty issue of coin—Muhammad Bakhtíar's acknowledged subordination to Kutb-ud-dín, who, as far as can be seen, issued no money in his own name, it may fairly be inferred that if a single piece of money was produced, it formed a part only of an occasional, or special, medallic mintage, constituting a sort of numismatic proclamation, or assertion and declaration of conquest and supremacy alone, emblazoning probably the titles of the supreme Suzerain, and purposely avoiding any needless interference with the fixed trade by adventitious monetary complications, which so unprogressive a race as the Hindus would naturally be slow to appreciate.[1]

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[1] Ibn Batutah gives an account of the collection of the cowrie shells in the Maldive Islands, from whence they were exported to Bengal in exchange for rice; the gradational quantities and values are detailed as follows: سياه =100 cowries. فال =700. كتي =12,000. بستو =100,000; four *bustús* were estimated as worth one gold *dinár*, but the rate of exchange varied considerably, so that occasionally a *dinár* would purchase as many as twelve *bustús*, or twelve lakhs of cowries (French edition, iv. p. 121; Lee's Translation, p. 178). The Áín-i-Akbari notices that all the accounts of Subah Orissa were kept in cowries. Gladwin's Translation, ii. 15. The rates of exchange are given as follows:—"4 cowries = 1 gunda, 5 gundas = 1 boory, 4 boories = 1 pun, 16 pun = khawun, (sometimes 20 puns go to a khawun), and 10 khawuns = 1 rupee." Sir H. Elliot mentions that "in India, in 1740, a rupee exchanged for 2,400 cowries; in 1756, for 2,560 cowries; and (1845) as many as 6,500 could be obtained for a rupee" (Glossary of Indian Terms, p. 373). "They were estimated in the revised currency scheme of 1833 at 6,400 per rupee" (Prinsep's Useful Tables, p. 2). Major Rennell, who was in Silhet in 1767–8, speaking of the cowrie money, remarks: "I found no

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other currency of any kind in the country; and upon an occasion, when an increase in the revenue of the province was enforced, several boat loads (not less than 50 tons each) were collected and sent down the Burrampooter to Dacca." As late as 1801 the revenues of the British district of Silhet "were collected in cowries, which was also the general medium of all pecuniary transactions, and a considerable expense was then incurred by Government in effecting their conversion into bullion" (Hamilton's Hindostan, London, 1820, i. p. 195).

[1] The author of the Tabakát-i-Násiri has preserved some curious passages regarding the early coinages in Bengal. First he tells us, that on the conquest of the country by the Muhammadans they found *quasi*-indigenous *Cowries* sufficing for all the wants of trade, in contrast to the *Jitals*, which constituted the recognized money of the neighbouring provinces of Hindustán (جنان تقریر کردند که دران بلاد کوده بعوض چیتل روان است p. 149.) Subsequently, speaking of Muhammad Bakhtíar Khiljí's arrangements in his new government, he goes on to say—و برموضعي که لکهنوتي است دار الملک ساخت و اطراف آن ممالک را در تصرف آورد و خطبه و سکه در هر خطه قائم کرد p. 151. ... و اموال بسیار بخدمت سلطان قطب الدین فرستاد The context of this passage would clearly imply that *the* coins, if any were really produced, were not issued in his own name, nor even in that of Kutb-ud-dín, though in the tribute forwarded to that viceroy, he clearly acknowledges fealty. The intentional discrimination is seen in the terms of the sentence relating the assumption of independence by 'Ali Mardán, who is reported as چتر برگرفت و خطبه باسم خود کرد p. 159., a phrase which appears indirectly to mark the arrogation of "umbrellas and public prayers," with a reserve about the numismatic symbols

This will, perhaps, be the most fitting occasion to review cursorily the rise and progress of the local coinage; and to summarize the leading features of the Bengal scheme, which has but an irregular and fitful bearing upon the Imperial currency.

The artistic merits of the produce of the southern mints, though superior in the early copies to the crude introductory issues of Altamsh, seldom compete with the contemporary design or execution of the Dehli die-cutters, and soon merge into their own provincialisms, which are progressively exaggerated in the repetition, until, at last, what with the imperfection of the model, the progressive conventionalism of the designers, and the ignorance and crude mechanical imitation of the engravers, their legends become mere semblances of intelligible writing, like Persian *shikastah*, easy to read when one can divine what is intended, but for anything like precision in obscure and nearly obliterated margins a very untrustworthy basis for the search after exact results.

The different local mints each followed its own traditions, and the school of art stood generally at a higher level in the eastern section of the kingdom, especially when Sonárgaon was held by its own independent rulers. The lowest scale of die execution, exemplified in the provincial series, was reserved for the capital of the united provinces under the kingship of Sikandar (Fírúzábád, 769 A.H.). The numismatic innovations of Muhammad bin Tughlak were felt and copied in the south, especially in the reproduction of the titular legends; but his own coins struck at the "city"—he would not call it the capital—of Lakhnautí, evince the haste

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of royalty. And the gradations are still more clearly defined in the acknowledgment of Altamsh by Ghiás-ud-dín 'Auz, in 622 A.H., where it is stated—
رقبهٔ خدمت در ربقهٔ انقیاد آورد و سي زنجیر پیل و هشتاد لک مال
بداد و خطبه و سکه بنام مبارک شمسي کرد .p. 171

and carelessness of a temporary sojourn, and, still worse, the hand of a local artist, both which short-comings may be forgiven to a monarch who, in his own imperial metropolis, had raised the standard of the beauties of Arabic writing, as applied to coin legends, to a position it had never before attained, and which later improved appliances in other lands have seldom succeeded in equalling.

The Bengal Sultáns, mere imitators at first, were original in the later developments of coin illumination, and the issues of the fully independent kings exhibit a commendable variety of patterns in the die devices, damaged and restricted, however, in the general effect by the pervading coarseness and imperfection of the forms of the letters. Then, again, the tenor of the inscriptions is usually of independent conception, especially in the refusal to adopt the ever-recurring *kalimah* of the Muslim mints, and in the suggestive mutations of titles assigned to the lieutenants of the prophet on earth, whose identifications they did not seek to trace, and whose very names they did not care to learn. So also was their elaboration of the titular adjuncts of the four Imáms uninfluenced by northern formula; many of which conventionalisms survived for centuries, till Shír Sháh, in the chances of conquest, carried these traditions with him, and incorporated them into the coinage of Hindustán, during the exile of the temporarily vanquished Humáyún.

The standard of the Bengal coinage was necessarily, like the pieces themselves, a mere imitation of imperial mint quantities, and the early issues will be seen to follow closely upon the proper amount in weight contemplated in the Dehli prototypes; but one of the curious results the Kooch Behár collective find[1] determines is, that though the first kings on the list clearly put forth money of full measure, their pieces were, in most cases, subjected to a well-understood Indian process of boring-out, or reduction by sweating, to the exact weight to which we must suppose subsequent kings had lowered the legal standard of their money, so that, although some of the silver pieces of Kai Káús and Fírúz have escaped the debaser's eye, and preserve the completeness of their original issue denomination, the great majority of the older coins have been brought down to the subsequent local standard of 166 grains, at which figure, in troy grains, the bulk of the hoard ranges; or, in more marked terms, 166 grains is the precise weight of the majority of the very latest and best preserved specimens, which must have been consigned to their recent place of concealment when very fresh from mints but little removed from the residence of the accumulator of the treasure, and may be held to represent new and clean coin which could scarcely have changed hands.

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[1] 13,500 pieces discovered in A.D. 1863. Journ. R.A.S., N.S., ii. p. 145.

The intrinsic value of the money of these Sovereigns follows next in the order of the inquiry. This department of fiscal administration might naturally have been expected to have been subject to but limited check or control, when regulated by the uncertain processes of Oriental metallurgy; but, in practice, it will be seen that some of the native mint-masters were able to secure a very high standard of purity, and, what is more remarkable, to maintain a singularly uniform scale in the rate of alloy. In the case of the imperial coins subjected to assay in Calcutta, specimens spreading over, and in so far representing a sequent fifty-six years of the issues of the northern metropolis, vary only to the extent of six grains in the thousand, or 0·6 per cent. As the Dehli coinage proves superior, in point of weight, to the southern standard, so also does it retain a higher degree of purity;

the 990 and 996 of silver to the test total of 1,000 grains, sinks, in the earliest examples of the Bengal mintages, to 989, from which figures it experiences a temporary rise, in possibly exceptional cases, under Bahádur Sháh, who may be supposed to have brought down, with his reinstituted honours and the coined treasure so lavishly bestowed upon him by Muhammad bin Tughlak, on his restoration to the government of Sonárgaon, certain implied responsibilities for the equity and fulness of his currencies; while in the subsequent irregularly descending scale, 'Azam Sháh's officials arrived at the most unblushing effort of debasement, in the reduction of silver to 962 grains.

Colonel Guthrie has obtained the following data from the assay of the various coins composing the Kooch Bahár hoard: "When the Bengal Asiatic Society made their selection of coins from the trove, they set apart four of each description for the mint, two being for special assay, two for the mint collection. The result of the assay was as follows (1,000 represents absolute purity)":

Dehli Coins.

1. Balban (A.H. 664) 990 and 996.
2. Kai Kobád (A.H. 686) 990 and 996.
3. Ghíás-ud-dín Tughlak (A.H. 720) 990.

Bengal Coins.

1. Shams-ud-dín Firuz......989.
2. Bahádur Sháh...988 and 993.
3. Mubárak Sháh ....987.
4. Ghází Sháh of Bengal...989.
5. Ilíás Sháh (1st type) 989; (2nd) 982; (3rd) 988.
6. Sikandar Sháh (return lost).
7. 'Azam Sháh (1st type) 981; (2nd) 989; (3rd) 962; (4th) 977; (5th) 985.

A question that has frequently puzzled both Oriental and European commentators on the history of India has been the intrinsic value of the current coin at the various epochs they had occasion to refer to, so that the most exact numerical specifications conveyed but a vague notion of the sterling sum contemplated in the recital by any given author. Numismatists have been for long past in a position to assert that the Dehli Tankah contained absolutely 173 grains, which would presuppose a theoretical issue weight of 174 or 175 grains, and a touch of nearly pure silver; but assuming this specific coin to have been a *white* or *real* "Tankah of Silver" (تنكه نقره) a doubt necessarily remained as to what was to be understood by the alternative black Tankah (تنكه سياه). Nizám-ud-dín Ahmad, in his Tabakát-i-Akbari, seems to assign the introduction of these black Tankahs to Muhammad bin Tughlak, who notoriously depreciated the currency to a large extent before he resorted to the extreme measure of a forced currency, though it may be doubted whether any such depreciation would have been thought of, even if there had been time to effect the conversion, at the very commencement of his reign, to which period Nizám-ud-dín attributes the issues of these pieces, in the apparent desire of explaining the bare possibility of the possession of such numerical amounts as are stated to have been squandered in largesses by the newly-enthroned monarch. However, the real adulteration of the coin need not have extended much beyond the point indicated by the superficial aspect of his own Bengal mintages, and 'Azam Sháh's coins of the same locality probably exceed that accusatory measure of debasement; while, on the other hand, Muhammad bin Tughlak, on reverting to specie currencies, after his futile trial of copper tokens, seems to have aimed at a restoration of the ancient purity of metal in his metropolitan issues, as I shall have occasion to quote a coin of his produced by the Dehli mint in A.H. 734, which has every outward appearance of unalloyed silver, and equally retains the fair average weight of 168 grains.

All these evidences would seem to imply that the Bengal ratio of purity was intentionally lower, and that a very slight addition to the recognized alloy would bring the local issues fairly within the category of *black Tankahs* Such a supposition of the inferiority of the coinages of the southern kingdom appears to be curiously illustrated by Báber's mentioning that, in A.H. 932, a portion of the revenues of the district of Tirhút, a sort of border-land of his empire which did not extend over Bengal, was payable in *Tankah Nukrah*, and the larger remainder in *Tankah Síáh*,[1] an exceptional association of currencies in a given locality, which can scarcely be explained in a more simple and reasonable manner than by assuming the lower description of the conventional piece to have been concurrent with a better description of the same coin, which constituted the prevailing and authorized revenue standard of the northern portions of the Mughal conqueror's Indian dominions.

SEVENTH KING (A.H. 637–639; A.D. 1239–1241).

The virtual accession of Mu'izz-ud-dín Bahrám Sháh dates from the defeat of Rizíah, at Sirhind, in Ramazán 637 A.H., when the party advocating his claims became supreme in the capital, and was not deferred until after her murder by the Hindus, at Kaithal, in Rabí'ul ákhir 638 A.H. This reign demands but scant preliminary comment, except to mark the second instance of the correctness of Altamsh's estimate of the ineptitude of his own sons.

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[1] "Tirhút-tribute (*khidmatána*) of the Tirhúti Raja: 250,000 silver tankas (*tankah nukrah*) and 2,750,000 black tankas (*tankah síáh*)."—W. Erskine, Báber and Humáyún, ii. p. 541.

Summary of the Events of the Reign.

A.H. 637. (27 Ramazán). Enthroned. (11 Shawwál). Ikhtíar-ud-dín *I'tigín* nominated Vicegerent by the nobles.

,, 638. (8 Muharram). Ikhtíar-ud-dín assassinated at the instigation of the Sultán. Badr-ud-dín Sanḳar assumes the direction of the government.

,, 639. (8 Safar). Badr-ud-dín's plot against the Sultán defeated; he is ordered to quit the capital. General disaffection is engendered against the Sultán in consequence of his severities in checking these conspiracies.

,, 639. (16 Jumáda'l ákhir). Láhor captured by the Mughals. Minháj us Siráj, at the Court of Dehli, appointed Ḳázi of the kingdom. The army under the *Vazír*, Mahzab-ud-dín, marches to the Beás to oppose the Mughals.

,, 639. (19 Sh'abán). The Vazír intrigues for the deposition of the Sultán, and returns with the army to the gates of Dehli.

,, 639. (8 Zí'lk'adah).[1] The city is taken; the Sultán captured, and slain on the 17th.

Mu'izz-ud-dín Bahrám Sháh.

No. 92. *Silver*. Weight, 167 grs. Pl. vii. fig. 2. Very rare.
Dehli, A.H. 638. Col. Guthrie.

Square area.

في عهد الامام
المستنصر امير
المومنين

Margins—ضرب هذا السكه
بحضرت دهلي في سنة ثمان
وثلثين و (ستماية)

Square area.

السلطان الاعظم
معز الدنيا والدين
ابو المظفر بهرامشاه
بن السلطان

Obverse *inner* margin, in the spaces between the square area and the circular marginal line, in four detached divisions—
ناصر امير امو منين.

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[1] The author mentions, incidentally, the distribution of a "sum of 3000 chitals" among some rioters the night before the surrender.

A second similar coin (considerably oxydized) weighs 169 grains. There are several coins of this mintage now known. I have a dated specimen of the same year, 638, and two new specimens of Bahrám's silver currency are quoted in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1863, p. 35.

No. 93. Silver and copper mixed. Weights, 54 and 56 grs.
Pl. i. figs. 30 and 31. Very rare.

Obverse—السلطان الاعظم معز الدنیا و الدين

Reverse—Horseman and السلطان (possib. بن سـ ?).

No. 94. Silver and copper. Weight, 54 grs. (Plate i., No. 32.)

Horseman.	Bull.
स्री हंमीर	सुरिताण स्री मुअजदीं
Srí Hammírah.	*Suritáṇ Srí Muajadín.*[1]

These coins, as an almost constant rule, have the figure ६=6 on the Bull's housings. If there are any other numerals, contributing to a full date, elsewhere run into the device, I have as yet failed to discover them.

No. 95. Silver and copper. Weight, 52 grs.
(Variety of 32, plate i.)

Horseman.	Bull.
स्री हं	. . . . मुईज
	Muij.

This coin is of coarser execution than the ordinary specimens of this series. It also varies materially in the forms of the letters; the *i* follows the ancient rendering of that vowel ӟ,[2] and the *j* adheres to the older shape of E.

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[1] In my previous readings I rendered this name as मुयजदीं *Muyazadín.* I now see that the third letter is an अ *a*; it is exceptional in its outline, but it accords with some examples of the exceptional अ *a* on 'Alá-ud-dín Mas'aúd's coin, No. 101, *infrà.*

[2] Prinsep's Essays, pl. xxxviii. xxxix., fifth and ninth centuries A.D.; and the *j* fifth and seventh centuries A.D.

No. 96. Silver and copper. Weight, 55 grs. New.
(Variety of No. 30, plate i.)

Horseman.	السلطان
Above which appears	الاعظم معز
بهرامشاه	الدنيا و الدين

EIGHTH KING (A.H. 639–644; A.D. 1241–1246).

The uncertainty of successions to Eastern thrones is prominently displayed in the present instance, in the elevation of two kings in one day. 'Izz-ud-dín Balban, a son-in-law of Altamsh, supported by a faction, assumed the sovereignty immediately on the decease of Bahrám; but, before night, he was supplanted by 'Alá-ud-dín Mas'aúd, a son of Rukn-ud-dín Fírúz, upon whom the choice of the more influential nobles had fallen.

SUMMARY OF THE REIGN OF 'ALÁ-UD-DÍN MAS'AÚD.

A.H. 639. 8 Zí'lk'adah. Accession.

„ 640. Arrogance and assumption of the Vazír Mahzab-ud-dín, who is killed by the party of the Túrki noblesse on the 2nd Jumáda'l awwal, 640 A.H.

„ 641. Minháj us Siráj, having resigned his office of Ḳázi, leaves Dehli on the 9th Rajab, on his two years' visit to the Court of Tughán Khán at Lakhnautí. 'Alá-ud-dín Mas'aúd, during these two years, extends and consolidates his sway. The Sultán releases his uncles, (Jalál-ud-dín and Násir-ud-dín), from confinement, and provides them with governments.

A.H. 642. Shawwál. The troops of Jájnagar appear before Lakhnauti.[1] Tamar Khán brings reinforcements. See p. 8.

" " 14 Safar. The author returns to Dehli, and is reinstated in some of his old offices.

" " Rajab. The Mughals, under Manguti, attack Uchh. The Sultán advances against them, but they retire without fighting.

" 644. The camp life and military associations are supposed to have had a bad effect upon the Sultán's morals, and he takes to evil courses and uncontrolled cruelties; disorganization engendered in consequence. The chiefs and nobles invite Násir-ud-dín Mahmúd to occupy the throne.

" " 23rd Muharram. The Sultán is imprisoned and dies.

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[1] I need scarcely say that I totally discredit the reported invasion of Bengal by the troops of Changiz Khán, in 642 A.H. (Elliot's Historians, ii. 264–344; Dow's Hindustan (London, 1770), i. p. 342; Briggs's Ferishtah, i. 231; Elphinstone's History of India, 377). The error, so largely adopted, seems to have arisen from the mistranscription of the original text of Minháj us Siráj, where چنگیرخان has been substituted for جاجنگر in the leading passage—

ودر شوال سنه اثنی و اربعین وستمائه کفار جاجنگر بدر لکهنوتي آمدند

Stewart, in his history of Bengal (London, 1813, p. 62), had already pointed out that Ferishtah was wrong, but he himself was mistaken in placing *Jájnagar* in Orissa, instead of in Tipperah. The Persian text printed in Calcutta (p. 199) frankly admits the variant of جاجنگر in a foot-note, without venturing to correct the obvious inaccuracy in the body of the text, which the tenor of the concurrent events related at page 245 would fully have justified. (See also pp. 157, 163, 243, and Ferishtah, Bombay lithographed edition of the Persian text, i. 122.) The author of the Tárikh-i Mubárak Sháh avoids the mistake by refraining from noticing the reported invasion. Nizám-ud-dín Ahmad, in his Tabakát-i Akbari, however, reproduces the error, and indulges in some speculations as to the route by which the Mughals entered Bengal (MS. text). In this he is followed by Badaoni, who adopts his text almost unchanged (Calcutta text, p. 88). An amusing muddle, which the Calcutta editors might have avoided by a moderate exercise of critical acumen, also occurs in their making Changiz Khán fight the battle of Parwán, north of Kábul, in the intra Gangetic town of Budaon (Calcutta text of Tabakát-i Násiri, p. 348). See also Dr. Lee's Ibn Batutah, O. Tr. Fund, 97.

'Alá-ud-dín Mas'aúd Sháh.

No. 97. *Silver*. Weight, 165·4 grs. Dehli

Square areas inclosed in circles.

السلطان الاعظم	في عهد الامام
علا الدنيا والدين ابو	المستنصر امير
المظفر مسعود شاه	المومنين
بن السلطان	

The marginal legends are the same on both faces.

ضرب هذا السكه بحضرت دهلي في سنه

N.B. The Khalif *Al Mustansir* died in 640 A.H.

No. 98 (pl. i. fig. 33). Silver. Weight, 167·5 grs. Dehli, A.H. 641.

Area	في عهد الامام
Similar to No. 10.	المستعصم امير
	المومنين

Marginal legends *duplicated*—ضرب . . . سنة احد واربعين و ستماية

No. 99 (pl. ii. fig. 34). Silver and copper. Weight, 50 grs.

Obverse—السلطان الاعظم علا الدنيا و الدين

Reverse—Over the Horseman, مسعود شاه

No. 100. Silver and copper mixed. Coarsely executed dies.
Weight, 50 grs. (My cabinet.)

The Bull of Siva.	**Horseman, in *toghra*.**
***Legend*—**	***Legend*—**
सुरिताण स्री अलावदिण.	**स्री षलीफ**
Suritáṇ Srí Aláwadin.	***Srí Shalifa.***

See also the coin of the *Khalif* Mustansir, No. xxviii.*a*, p. 52, *suprà*.

No. 101. Silver and copper mixed. Finely cut and well finished dies. Weight, 46 to 50 grs.

Date, *Samvat*, 1300=1243 A.D.=641 A.H.

Bull.	Horseman.
Legend as above.	स्री हमीरः
On the *Jhúl* of the Bull ९; on the hindquarter, ३ . . = ३००.	*Srí Hamírah.*

For engravings see Prinsep's Essays, pl. xxvi. fig. 33; J.A.S.B. vol. xxxiv. (1865), pl. xxxvii. fig. 23.

A very remarkable outline is given to the initial अ *a*, in the title of the Sultán, on these coins, the nearest approach to which, in modern type, would be represented by a combination of प्र *pr*, with a medial ा prefixed to it, but shortened-up, so as to admit of the insertion of a dot at its foot, thus ाप्र. A similar outline (usually without the dot) is retained on the coins of 'Alá-ud-dín Muhammad Sháh (pl. iii. fig. 60). The earlier example of possibly the same letter, on the introductory Kábul silver series, adverted to in the note, p. 58, might be imitated in type by ाप्व or ाव्व. These dates were first detected by Gen. Cunningham. At the outset I was inclined to question the determination, as I had met with a coin of 'Alá-ud-dín's, belonging to Major Simpson, which gave three dots after the ३, but I now see that this apparent increase was due to the imperfect execution of the die. Besides which, the discovery of a similar system of dating in the Vikramaditya era on the coins of Altamsh (p. 71) fully confirms the present system of interpretation.

No. 102 (pl. ii. fig. 35). Copper. Weight, 49½ grs.

Obverse—الاعظم علاالدنیا و الدین مسعود شاه

Reverse—مسعود شاه

No. 103 (pl. ii. fig. 36). Silver and copper. Weight, 52 grs.

Obverse—ین مسعود بن سلطان

Reverse—Rude figure of a horseman of the Narwar type.

These coins partake of many of the characteristics of the unique mintage of *Arám* Sháh, which may be traced not only in the peculiar reverse, but in the general coarseness of the die manipulation and the eccentric forms of the Persian letters.

No. 104 (pl. ii. fig. 37). Copper. Weight, 56 grs.

Obverse—السلطان الاعظم مسعود السلطان

Reverse—Rude figure of a horseman.

No. 105 (pl. ii. fig. 38). Copper and Silver. Weight, 41 grs.

Obverse—Bull. अलादिन *Aládin.*

NINTH KING (A.H. 644–664; A.D. 1246–1265).

The annals of the major portion of the reign of "Násir-ud-dín Mahmúd," the second son of Altamsh of *that name*, have been preserved in elaborate detail by his special biographer, Minháj us Siráj, whose history extends only to A.H. 658, though an occasional prayer for Mahmúd's successor seems to show that the author survived his Sovereign.[1] With a temporary intermission, the affairs of the kingdom were guided throughout by the strong will of the Vizír, *Bahá-ud-dín Balban, Ulugh Khán.* It was, perhaps, as well for Násir-ud-dín that he had such support, for he seems, like the other sons of Altamsh, to have been but little fitted to dominate over his own turbulent nobles or to coerce the imperfectly conquered native races nominally subject to his sway. Though unassailed in repute, his tastes tended rather to an obscure and retired life, associated with the exercise of his penmanship, in the reproduction of Ḳuráns,[2] in which he excelled: a faculty which possibly had its influence on the execution and finish of the legends of his coinage, which display a remarkable advance upon the earlier mintages in the fineness of the lines and the improved definition of the Persian characters.

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[1] The annals proper close with A.H. 658. Text, pp. 313, 323. Elliot, ii. pp. 261, 359, 383.

[2] Ibn Batutah, on his visit to Dehli, had an opportunity of admiring one of these specimens of royal caligraphy.—French edition, iii. p. 169.

SUMMARY OF THE EVENTS OF THE REIGN OF NÁSIR-UD-DÍN MAHMÚD.[1]

A.H. 644. Accession (23rd Muharram). Expedition under Ulugh Khán into the Hills of Júd and Jílam.

,, 645. Capture of Nandana.[2] The army advances to Karra; attacks upon دلكي و ملكي. (See note, p. 66, *ante.*)

,, 646. Ulugh Khán proceeds against Cháhar Deva. Bahá-ud-dín Aibeg killed before Rantambhor (11th Zil hijjah).

,, 647. The Sultán gives his daughter in marriage to the son of Ulugh Khán.

,, 648. Izz-ud-dín attempts to take Multán from Shír Khán, the brother of Ulugh Khán.

,, 649. Izz-ud-dín revolts at Nágor; he is ultimately captured by Shír Khán at Uchh.

,, ,, 25 Sha'bán. The Sultán proceeds towards Malwa. Cháhar Deva defeated, and the Fort of Narwar taken (p. 67, *ante*). Minháj us Siráj appointed Kázi of the State.

,, 650. The Sultán proceeds towards Uchh and Multán; intrigues commenced against Ulugh Khán.

,, 651. Ulugh Khán ordered to his estates in the Siwálik Hills and Hánsi. The royal army proceeds against him, and Hánsi is given to *Sháhzádah* Rukn-ud-dín. Ulugh Khán establishes his head-quarters at Nágor, and carries on the war against Cháhar Deva. Shír Khán crosses the Indus.

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[1] Tabakát-i-Násiri, text; and Elliot's Historians, ii. pp. 345, *et seq*; 365, *et seq*.

[2] Gen. Cunningham identifies this place with Deo-kali, or the Na-po-ti-po-kïn-lo of Huen Tsang, *i.e. Nava deva kula*, close to Rájgir, the fort of Alha and Udal, about 4 miles S.E. of Kanauj.

A.H. 652. Operations in Sirmúr and Pinjor, passage of the Jumna and the Ganges (at Miyápúr), and march along the foot of the hills to the Ramgunga, and on to Badáon. Confederacy of nobles in support of Ulugh Khán. Manœuvering of the armies in Sirhind; peace made.

,, 653. The Sultán distrusts his own mother, who was married to Kutlugh Khán. Minháj us Siráj again appointed Kázi of the kingdom. Kutlugh Khán revolts, but is obliged to retreat before Ulugh Khán to Kálinjar.

,, 654. Operations against Kutlugh Khán continued.

,, 655. Izz-ud-dín Balban revolts. Kutlugh Khán joins him near Sámána; they march to Dehli in the absence of the royal army, but are unable to hold their ground.

,, 656. The Sultán proceeds against the Mughals, who had entered Multán, but returns to Dehli without an encounter.

,, 657. The main army marches southward; repose and quiet in the capital. Tribute received from Izz-ud-dín Balban Uzbek in charge of Lakhnautí.

,, 658. Ulugh Khán is sent to coerce the Méwátis; operations against *Malká*, chief of certain turbulent Hindus, near the capital. Ambassadors arrive at Dehli from Húlákú Mughal.

. . . .

,, **664. (11 Jumád'al awwal.)**[1] **Násir-ud-dín Mahmúd dies.**

Násir-ud-dín Mahmúd.

No. 106 (pl. ii. fig. 39; and Marsden, No. DCXIV).

Silver. Highest weight 168·8 grs. 25 specimens (4 specimens average 168·2 grs. and numerous coins touch 168 grs.) DEHLI. Dates observed, *654*[2] A.H., 655, 656, 657, 658, 660, 662, 663, 664.

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[1] Ziá Barni, Persian text, Calcutta edition, p. 25; Taríkh Mubárak Sháhi MS. [length of reign given as 19 years, 3 months, 16 days]; Badaoni, Calcutta text, p. 94; Ferishtah, Briggs, i. 246.

[2] The italic figures indicate the date of *the* particular coin described in the text and figured in the plate.

السلطان الاعظم
ناصر الدنيا و الدين
ابو المظفر محمود
بن السلطان

فی عهد الامام
المستعصم امیر
المومنین

Margins—ضرب هذة الفضة بحضرت دهلي في سنة اربع و خمسين و ستماية

N.B.—Some of the coins retain the old term *Sikka*, "coin," in lieu of the *Al Fizzat*, "silver." The early coins use the affiliative بن, the later ones ابن.

No. 107 (pl. ii. fig. 40). Silver and Copper. Weight, 51 grs.

Obverse—السلطان الاعظم ناصر الدنيا و الدين

Reverse—In front of the Horseman, श्री हमीरः *Ṣri Hammírah:*
Above the Horseman, محمود.

In the year 1854, a large hoard of these coins was discovered at Hánsi. I availed myself of the opportunity to have twelve of them (= 584 grs.) assayed by the usual native process of blowing-off the *copper* with lead. The result arrived at gave a total of 149 grains of *silver*, or an average of 12·4166 grains of silver per coin.

No. 108 (pl. ii. fig. 41). Copper? Weight, 54 grs.

Obverse—As above.

Reverse—The Narwar type of Horseman.

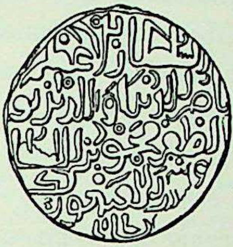
No. 109. Silver and copper. Minute coin. Weight, 12 grs.

Obverse.	Reverse.
ناصري	ضرب
عدل	دهلي

I have detached the subjoined coin from the ordinary suite of the mintages of Násir-ud-dín Mahmúd, because I am not quite certain about the finality of its attribution: it will be seen to differ from the ordinary pieces of Mahmúd in the more ample legend, the general style of the Persian characters, and in the adherence to the old practice of filling in one entire surface with the king's name and titles, as in the coins of Rizíah (pl. i. fig. 27, pl. vi. fig. 1), an arrangement which, in the metropolitan series, had for some time past given place to the insertion of duplicate marginal legends on either surface of the piece. This peculiarity may prove to be a mere indication of its issue from the Lakhnautí mint, where the earlier coins of Rizíah are now proved to have been struck; moreover, as bearing upon this point, it may be noted that the introductory coins of the local kings of Bengal (pl. vi. fig. 2, etc.), though they do not implicitly follow this older model, yet in no case do they display the duplicate marginal legends adopted in the northern capital. If these coins, then, are to be accepted as the produce of Bengal dies, the additional matter inserted after the Sultán's name may be expected to allude to some imperial intervention in the affairs of the southern province; or we may possibly have to seek for the name of the local Viceroy in the illegible portion of the obverse now engraved.

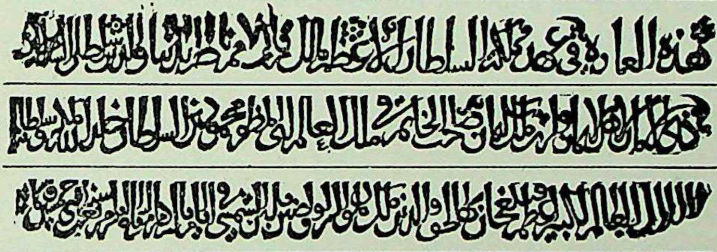
No. 110. Silver. A.H. . 5 . (650 odd ?). *Unique.* Museum of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

في عهد الامام
المستعصم امير
المومنين
Margin—
. . خمسين . .



السلطان الاعظم
ناصر الدنيا و الدين ابو
المظفر محمود بن السلطان
. . . .

K. Inscription of *Násir-ud-dín Mahmúd*, engraved over the doorway of the Minaret[1] at Allygurh, dated 10th Rajab, A.H. 652.



هذه العمارة. في عهد مملكة السلطان الاعظم مالك رقاب الامم
ناصر الدنيا و الدين سلطان السلاطين

ذي الامان لاهل الايمان وارث ملك سليمان صاحب الخاتم في
ملك العالم ابي المظفر محمود بن السلطان خلد الله ملكه و سطانه

الملك العالم الكبير المعظم قتلغخان بهاالحق و الدين ملك ملوك
الشرق و الصين بلبن الشمسي في ايام ايالة بامر منالة العاشر من
رجب سنة اثني خمسين و ستماية

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[1] It is with much regret that I learn that this ancient monument has been wantonly destroyed. With a feeling akin to shame, I have to add, that this was the deliberate act of my fellow-countrymen, the English officials in charge of the district in 1861.

It may seem to savour of the credulous antiquary if I confess to the belief that this interesting memorial represents the hand-writing of H. M. Násir-ud-dín himself. I do not affirm that he either outlined the characters on the stone, or even wrote out the full-size working copy; but I am under the impression that he indulged his favourite taste in designing both the matter and the manner of this record,—from the supreme monarch alone could have come such free laudation of the Vizír, in a document bearing their names in close juxtaposition. Many of the titles, from Ḳutlugh Khán onwards, had, we know, already been bestowed by the amiable king upon his prime minister, the effective guardian of his kingdom. Balban, all powerful as he was, would scarcely, in the presence of his sovereign, have called himself ملك العالم and Malik of Maliks of the East and China; and equally, at this time, might have desired to avoid the confession of his own quondam purchase by Shams-ud-dín Altamsh. It must have been a relief to the King to be emancipated from the dull routine of copying Ḳuráns, and to be called upon to compose an original document which should give free scope to his practised penmanship. The writing, as preserved on the stone, is obviously peculiar, departing notably from the ordinary Kufic and Arabic characters employed by his predecessors at Dehli, and bearing traces of an individually developed style, accustomed to indulge in vagaries of caligraphy, which might not have been admitted in a more rigid school. But in estimating the real merits of the autograph of this regal penman, by the document before us, we must make the double allowance of the possible crudity of the stonemason's work, and the obvious imperfection of the cloth impression from which the above Dallastype is reproduced.

TENTH KING (A.H. 664–686; A.D. 1265–1287).

Mahmúd leaving no male issue, the facile succession of his powerful vizír followed almost of course. Balban's advent to the imperial throne marks an epoch in the political history of Muhammadan India, in his attempt to destrcy the influence of the Túrki nobles, who had formed a sort of ill-cemented military oligarchy, embracing forty of the slaves of Altamsh,[1] who had risen to prominence during the weak governments of his successors. In effect, once a slave, now a king, the first use of his power was to endeavour to root out the very race of Túrki bondmen among whom he himself had lately been numbered. In his own altered circumstances, legitimacy was to become paramount. The inalienable succession of his own heirs was now to be secured. The contingency under which he had risen was, for the future, to be rendered impossible. To this end blood was not spared; and in this spirit the lives of his own near relations were sacrificed with but little compunction. Further to secure his position, he organized a searching and all-pervading system of espionage; and having brought his army to the highest state of efficiency, seems, under the same inspiration, to have determined not to venture far away from his capital.

Instructive accounts have been preserved of the insecurity of the metropolis at the time of his accession, caused by the daring of the Méwátis, who penetrated into the streets almost at will, so that "the western gates of the city had to be shut at afternoon prayer." Balban adopted vigorous and effective measures against these plunderers, and, for the moment, so to say, exterminated the race. About this period, the disorganization of the neighbouring kingdoms, consequent upon the destructive inroads of the Mughals, drove illustrious men of varied nationalities to seek refuge in India. There, under a warmer sun, were assembled all the brightest ornaments of the Asiatic world, and, among them, no less than fifteen sovereign princes. So that, for a time, the old Hindú capital became the centre of Muhammadan civilization; and Dehli, imitating the viceregal court of Multán, shone with a splendour but little anticipated for it by its Muslim occupiers of a few short years before.

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[1] (ایشانرا چهلگاني ميگفتند) Ziá Barni, text, p. 26.

The unsparing rigour of the Emperor secured his supremacy almost unquestioned throughout his long reign, with the exception of the serious revolt of Tughral, the governor of Bengal (No. 15, page 8), who assumed the style and titles of an independent king, and succeeded in defeating two several armies sent to subdue him. At length the Sultán proceeded against him in person, and one of his commanders coming upon the forces of the rebels somewhat unexpectedly, in a dashing spirit of chivalry, though at the head of only forty troopers, entered their camp at headlong speed, and struck panic into his adversaries by his very rashness. In the precipitate flight which ensued, Tughral was captured and slain, and the recovered kingdom of Bengal was placed under the charge of Násir-ud-dín *Bughrá Khán*, the second son of the Sultán, by whom he was, at the same time, invested with many of the insignia of royalty. Balban's loss of his cherished son and heir, Muhammad, the governor of Multán, who fell in the hour of victory, fighting against the enemies of his race, the Mughals (A.H. 684), hastened the end for which, at the age of eighty, nature must already have prepared the way; and the Emperor, in the language of his people, took the road to another world.

It will be seen that my sketch of this long and important reign deals with generalities alone, and is altogether deficient in the annals outlined on previous occasions: an explanation of this reserve is to be found in the change of the guiding historical authority. The loss of Minháj us Siráj, who was an eye-witness to many of the facts he relates, a participator in many of the public events he chronicles, and a candid and conscientious narrator, is ill supplied by Ziá-ud-dín Barni, a writer of little merit,[1] wanting in arrangement, time-serving in his representation of incidents; and, as regards this particular section of his biographies, a mere hearsay compiler of crude tradition nearly a century after date.[2]

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[1] This is no new discovery of mine. I denounced our author in no limited terms in 1846 (Initial Coinage of Bengal, J.R.A.S., N.S., ii. p. 180); and as an immediate test, I may add that of *the two* exceptional dates given in the entire twenty years of Balban's domination, *one* is manifestly wrong. See also Colonel Lees's notice of this author, J.R.A.S., N.S., iii. p. 441; and Sir H. Elliot's and Prof. Dowson's remarks on the same subject, Elliot's Historians, iii. 93.

[2] Ziá-ud-dín Barni, in his Tárikh-i Fíruz Sháh, gives the following account of his own work:— . . "I deemed it advisable to exclude from this history everything which is included in the Tabakát-i Násiri, . . . and to confine myself to the history of the later kings of Dehli. . . . It is ninety-five years since the Tabakát-i Násiri, and during that time eight kings have sat upon the throne of Dehli. Three other persons, rightly or wrongfully, occupied the throne for three or four months each; but in this history I have recorded only the reigns of eight kings, beginning with Sultán Ghíás-ud-dín Balban, who appears in the Tabakát-i Násiri under the name of Ulugh Khán.

First. Sultán Ghíás-ud-dín Balban, who reigned 20 years.

Second. Sultán Mu'izz-ud-dín Kaikubád, son of Sultán Balban, who reigned 3 years.

Third. Sultán Jalál-ud-dín Fíruz Khiljí, who reigned 7 years.

Fourth. Sultán 'Alá-ud-dín Khiljí, who reigned 20 years.

Fifth. Sultán Kutb-ud-dín, son of Sultán 'Alá-ud-dín, who reigned 4 years and 4 days.

Sixth. Sultán Ghíás-ud-dín Tughlaḳ, who reigned 4 years and a few months.

Seventh. Sultán Muhammad, the son of Tughlaḳ Sháh, who reigned 20 years.

Eighth. Sultán Fíruz Sháh, *the present king*, who may God preserve.

I have not taken any notice of three kings, who reigned only three or four

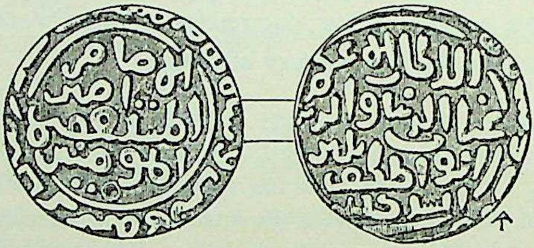
The numismatic illustration of this period is likewise less diversified, the long repose of Mahmúd's reign allowed the mint arrangements to settle themselves into a fixed system, and the public money accordingly assumed a more permanent form, unenlivened by commemorative medals or new adaptations of local currencies. Balban's rule is, however, identified with the first appearance of a gold coinage following the ordinary silver models already in circulation.

Ghiás ud-dín Balban.

No. 111. (Marsden, DCXCV.).

Gold. Weight, 163 grs. Very rare. Col. Guthrie. DEHLI, A.H. 680.

Circular Areas.



السلطان الاعظم	الامام
غياث الدنيا والدين	المستعصم امير
ابو المظفر بلبن	المومنين
السلطان	

Margin—ضرب هذه السكه بحضرت دهلي في سنه ثمانين و ستمايه .

No. 112 (pl. ii. fig 42).

Silver. Highest weight, 167·5 grs. (Five specimens average 167·3 grs.). DEHLI. Dates observed, A.H. 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 673, 674, 678.

months. I have written in this book, which I have named Táríkh-i Fírúz Sháh, whatever I have seen during the six years of the reign of the present king, Fírúz Sháh; and after this, if God spares my life, I hope to give an account of subsequent occurrences in the concluding part of this volume."—Elliot's Historians iii. p. 93.

Areas as usual in the current silver coins, consisting of a double lined square within circular marginal lines.

Margins as in the gold coinage, with the exception of the term *Al Fiẓẓat*, which replaces the *Al Sikka*.

An innovation is to be noticed in the coinage of Balban, in the rejection of the words *fi 'ahd*, "in the time of," "under the auspices of," hitherto prefixed to the name of the Khalif on the medals of his predecessors. The last Abbasside Khalif, Must'aṣim, was put to death in 656 A.H. by the Mughal conqueror of Baghdád, Húlákú Khán. It has been the subject of remark, as exhibiting an apparent inconsistency, that Balban and other monarchs should have continued to quote the name of this prominent martyr of their faith long subsequent to his decease; its retention, however, may be considered as appropriate, as it was clearly intentional; for, pending the appearance of an acknowledged successor to the throne of Muhammad, no course could have been less open to objection than a continuation of this simple record of the last who had borne the mantle of the Prophet.

No. 113 (pl. ii. fig. 43). Copper, or silver and copper?
Weight, 47½ grs. Common.

Obverse—السلطان الاعظم غياث الدنيا و الدين

Reverse { Centre—بلبن Balban.
Margin—श्रीः सुलतां गयासु दीं Srí Sultán Gyásu dín.

No. 114 (pl. ii. fig 44). Copper. Weight, 67 grs. Common.

Obverse—السلطان الاعظم

Reverse—غياث الدنيا و الدين

No. 115 (pl. ii. fig. 45). Silver and copper. Weight, 26 grs. Rare.

Obverse—عدل غياثي

Reverse—بحضرت دهلي

L. Inscription of *Balban,* A.H. 682=A.D. 1283.

The single Persian inscription of Balban hitherto discovered is engraved on the walls of the Jám'i Musjid at Gurmuktísar, in the Mirat district (lat. 28° 46′, long. 78° 10′).[1] It is to the following effect:—

مبني هذه العمارة في عهد السلطنة السلطان الاعظم شاهنشاه
المعظم غياث الدنيا و الدين ابو المظفر بلبن السبلطان ناصر امير
المومنين . . . . سنه اثني وثمانين و ستماية ٦٨٢

But the most important record for the illustration and due assignment of the preliminary adaptive issues of the Pathan dynasty is furnished by an inscription at *Pálam,* in the Dehli territory, engraved during the reign of Balban, under the auspices of *Uṭar*, the son of *Haripal,* and dated in Samvat 1333. This epigraph reproduces the Muhammadan names of nine of the leading monarchs of the race, in Devanagari characters. The inscription is historically unimportant, but it is curious in the preservation of the local nomenclature of the several kings, and the casual application of Indian titles of honour, ending with the *Amír*, assigned to the reigning Sultán.[2] A full transcript and a translation of this inscription (in *Urdú*) were published by Syud Ahmad Khán in 1854, but as I was not quite satisfied with its data and details, I availed myself of the assistance of Ramsurn dás, the then Deputy-Collector of Dehli, who was so obliging as to secure for me a new and more exact version. This recension differed materially from the text given in the *Asár us Sunadeed*, as may be seen from a comparison of the orthography of the names now given. I have unfortunately lost the revised document itself, but I had copied all that was of immediate value into my note-book, from which I extracted the names already published at p. 331, vol. ii. of my edition of Prinsep's Essays (1858). I am the more particular in stating these facts, as I regret to learn from Gen. Cunningham that he had made many inquiries for the inscription on the two different occasions of his later visits to Dehli, "but that it could not be found, and was supposed to have disappeared in the Mutiny."

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[1] This legend was copied for me, many years ago, by Syud Ahmad Khán.

[2] This is an item of some importance in the discussion of the correct determination of the applicability of the title of *Amír*, on the early *Dehliwálas*, to the reigning sovereign, to which I have adverted at p. 51.

M. Inscription of Uṭar (उटर) son of Haripál (हरिपाल) originally recorded on the *Baoli* at Pálam (Lat. 28° 35′, Long. 77° 8′) in the Dehli territory, dated Sáwan badi 13 (सम्वत १३३३) Samvat 1333 = 1276 A.D., A.H. 675.

1. षहाबुद्दीन *Ṣahábuddín.*
2. कुतबुद्दीन *Kutabuddín* with the title of भूपालः *Bhúpálah.*
3. षमषुद्दीन *Ṣamṣuddín.*
4. फेरोजषाह *Pheroz Ṣháh* with the title of बभूवभूमिपति *Babhúva Bhúmi Pati.*
5. जलालुद्दीन *Jaláluddín (Rizíah).*
6. मौजदीन *Maujadín,* title नृपः *Nripah.*
7. अलावुदीन *Alávudín,* title नृपति *Nripati.*
8. नसीरुद्दीन *Nasíruddín,* title पृथ्वीद्र *Prithvídra.*
9. गयासदीन *Gyásadín,* title श्रीहम्मीर *Srí Hammíra.*

Mu'izz-ud-dín Muhammad bin Sám is here called by the title he bore as commander in his early campaigns—both the brothers, Shams-ud-dín, the *senior,* and Shaháb-ud-dín himself, adopted new titular designations on the elevation of

Shams-ud-dín Muhammad bin Sám (afterwards Ghíás-ud-dín) to the throne of Ghazní.[1]

It will be seen that *Arám Sháh*, the third king of the ordinary lists, is not allowed a place in this summary. Rizíah is designated by her title of *Jalál-ud-dín*, and neither her ordinary name nor her second title of رضية الدين which appears on her Persian copper coinage (Nos. 28, 29, pl. i.), are alluded to.

नृपति *Nripati*, "king," is the title applied to the great Mahmúd of Ghazní on his Mahmúdpúr (Lahore) coins previously noticed.[2]

ELEVENTH KING (A.H. 686–689; A.D. 1287–1290).

Once again the frequent tale of a dissipated king, with virtually ruling ministers, has to be told; varied only in the present instance in the extreme lengths to which the monarch carried his debaucheries, and his escape from the toils of one vizír only to fall under the subjection of a second, who eventually usurped his crown. We have seen that Balban's surviving son, Násir-ud-dín Mahmúd, *Bughrá Khán*, had already been installed in the kingdom of Bengal, which he seems to have been unwilling to quit, even for the higher honours of

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[1] قبل از سلطنت محمد بن سام را شمس الدين ميگفتند و برادرش شهاب الدين ميخواندند چون بر سرير جهانداري تمكن يافت ملقب بسلطان غياث الدين گشت و برادرش را معز الدين لقب دادند Rozat us Safá.

[2] P. 48, *suprà*.

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the imperial succession.[1] The Sultán had, therefore, provided that Kai Khusrú, the son of his first-born "martyred" heir, should fill the throne of Dehli; but the party in power at the capital secured the immediate elevation of Mu'izz-ud-dín Kaikubád, the son of Bughrá Khán. The youth is described as of an amiable disposition, and as having been brought up with such extreme strictness, that the liberty and licence of his new position proved too much for his self-control. Licentiousness was readily infectious at an Oriental Court, and the new monarch found no want of panders and companions in his orgies.

The government was soon surrendered to the deputy, Nizám-ud-dín, one of whose earliest acts was the disposal of Kai Khusrú, as a preliminary to clearing the way for his own designs on royalty. The *Nau Muslim* (converted) Mughals, who had settled at Dehli, and who formed an important element in the body politic, were next assailed and massacred in detail, and few nobles felt themselves safe from the machinations of this all-powerful minister; reports of his designs even reached the Sultán's ears, only to be discredited and disregarded. But the most subtle scheme, for the furtherance of his own aims, conceived by Nizám-ud-dín, was the sowing distrust between the father and the son, and persuading the latter to advance in force towards Bengal.[2] The armies came in sight of each other near Oude, and encamped on either bank of the Sarjú; after certain preliminary peaceful advances, Bughrá Khán sent his second son, Kai Káús, to pay the introductory visit to his brother; this was responded to by Kaikubád sending over his own infant son, Kaiumours, to be presented to his grandfather. This, again, led to the old king trusting himself frankly within the limits of his son's camp; and at the public Durbár, held on the occasion, natural affections so asserted their sway, in defiance of the pompous restrictions and ceremonials of Oriental Courts, that reconciliation was at once complete, and the two monarchs vied with each other in the endeavour to surrender the place of honour.[1] The meeting, however, scarcely changed the political position of either party. Bughrá Khán was permitted to return undisturbed to Bengal, whose local throne was filled

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[1] Balban had been urgent in pointing out to him how much more importance, in a political sense, attached to the possession of the northern capital—which in the limited experiences of those days seemed for ever designed to remain as the central stronghold of India. He added, in the same spirit, that "whoever held Bengal must needs be subject to the ruling power at Dehli."—Ziá Barni. Elliot's Historians, iii. p. 123.

[2] "When Bughrá Khán heard that his son . . . paid no heed to his letters, he resolved to go and see him, and wrote him a letter announcing his intention. . . This letter awakened the Sultán's affection . . . and several letters passed. . . . It was at length arranged that the Sultán would go to Oudh, and that his father

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should come from Lakhnautí and meet him on the banks of the Sarú. The Sultán's intention was to proceed privately (*jarídah*) to the Sarú, but his minister opposed this, . . . observing that 'the journey was long, and that he ought to travel in state with an army. . . . Old writers had said that in pursuit of dominion fathers will slay their sons, and sons their fathers. Ambition for rule stifles both paternal and filial affection. . . . The Sultán's father had struck coins, and caused the *khutba* to be read in his name,—besides, he was the rightful heir to the kingdom, and who could foresee what would happen at the interview. The Sultán ought to proceed with his army in all state and grandeur. . . . The Rais and Ránas would then come to pay their respects; but if he travelled with haste, all reverence for the kingly office would be lost.' . . . His advice was taken by the Sultán, and he directed his army and travelling equipage to be prepared."—Zíá Barni. Elliot's Historians, iii. p. 130.

[1] This remarkable interview has been made the subject of a poem, in 4,000 couplets, entitled the "Kirán us S'adain," by the celebrated Yamín-ud-dín, Abúl Hasan, *Amír Khusrú Dehlavi*, which was composed under the auspices of Kaikubád himself in A.H. 688. Those who are disinclined to encounter the tedious efforts and dull repetitions of Persian poetry may consult with advantage an exhaustive review and analysis of this work, by Professor E. B. Cowell, in the Journal As. Soc. Bengal for 1860, pp. 225–239. The date of the effective start of Mu'izz-ud-dín, from Dehli, on his march southward, is calculated by Professor Cowell to have been *Rabi' ul awwal*, A.H. 686, p. 230.

by his family after him for two generations, while the empire of Dehli speedily passed into the hands of an alien race.

But little remains to be said about Kaikubád's reign. On his return to his capital the objectionable vizír was quietly poisoned, and his place supplied by Jalál-ud-dín *Khilji*, governor of Sámána. The Sultán having now become paralysed, his son, of tender years, was placed on the throne, under the title of Shams-ud-dín, and the old *Balbani* Túrks rallied round him in the hope of saving the kingdom from the power of the *Khiljis*; but their measures to that end were of little effect, for Jalál-ud-dín having got possession of the person of the young prince, sent one of his followers to put an end to the dying Sultán, whose body was ignominiously cast into the Jumna.[1]

Mu'izz-ud-dín Kaikubád.

No. 116 (pl. ii. fig. 46; Marsden, DCXCVIII).

Silver. Weight, 168 grs. Average weight of 5 coins, 164·2 grs.

DEHLI. Dates, 687 A.H. and 688 A.H.

السلطان الاعظم	
معز الدنيا والدين	الامام
ابو المظفر كيقباد	المستعصم امير
السلطان	المومنين

Margins—

ضرب هذه الفضة بحضرت دهلي في سنة سبع و ثمانين و ستماية

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[1] The Táríkh Mubárak Sháhi gives the date of this event as the 19th Muharram A.H. 689, Kaikubád's accession having taken place in A.H. 686, and not, as erroneously stated by Ziá Barni, in 685. As this is the *single* date given in the entire reign, it might have been hoped that it should be rightly given.—Elliot's Historians, iii. 125.

No. 117 (pl. ii. fig. 47). Silver and copper. Weight, 54 grs.

Obverse—السلطان الاعظم معز الدنیا و الدین

Reverse { کیقباد *Kaíkubád.*
श्री सुलतां मुइजुदी *Srí Sultán Mu-íjudín.*

The old initial form of the letter ई *í* is remarkable.

No. 118 (pl. ii. fig. 48). Copper. Weight, 51 grs.

Obverse—السلطان الاعظم

Reverse—معز الدنیا و الدین

No. 119 (pl. ii. fig. 49). Silver and copper, or copper? Weight, 59 grs.

OBVERSE.	REVERSE.
عدل	حضرت
مغزي	دهلي

TWELFTH KING (A.H. 689–695; A.D. 1290–1295).

Jalál-ud-dín Fírúz having accomplished the revolution which transferred the imperial throne from the Túrks to the Khiljís,[1] proceeded with considerable caution in the consolidation of his own power. Among other prudent measures, he retained the young prince Kaiumours as the ostensible Sultán for more than three months, and succeeded in inducing Malik

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[1] Ziá Barni professes to speak of the events of this reign as coming under his own personal observation (text, p. 175), and yet his opening date for the accession of Jalál-ud-dín Fírúz, *i.e.* 688 A.H., has to be corrected into 689 A.H. on the authority of Mír Khusru. The Táríkh Mubárak Sháhi concurs in this latter date. Nizám ud-dín Ahmad retains the 688, but Budaoni corrects his own version of the date into 689 (text, p. 166). Ferishtah has 687 A.H. (Briggs, i. 283. Bombay text, i. 154.)

Chhajú, the nephew of Balban, to leave the capital and proceed to his fief at Karra; and, as he distrusted the good-will of the people of Dehli, he removed his court to the site of the new town of *Kilúghari*, on the Jumna, which had already been partially occupied by Kaikubád.[1]

In the second year of Fírúz's reign, Malik Chhajú broke out into open revolt, and, aided by the old Túrki party and numerous contingents of Hindustáni troops, advanced towards the capital.[2] The Sultán, on the other hand, was warmly seconded by his Khiljí adherents, and his disciplined warriors easily defeated the indigenous levies; he then endeavoured to gain over the captive nobles by clemency and conciliation, even Chhajú himself was spared. In reply to the expostulations of his courtiers, he attempted to justify this unwise leniency by his unwillingness to shed Muslim blood, and the hope that he might thus convert enemies into friends. The single instance in which retributive justice was allowed to run its course was infelicitous, as the individual who was sacrificed chanced to be a pious *Darwesh*, Sidi Maulá by name, whom certain conspirators had designed to place upon the throne.

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[1] The exact site of Kilúghari was S.E. of Humáyún's Tomb and N. by W. of Khizrabád, which latter positions are duly marked in the plan of Dehli which illustrates this work. In 1808 the Jumna had materially changed its old bed, which lay much to the westward of the course here indicated, following a bend inwards, which left Kilúghari on a bold promontory.—Journal Archæological Society of Dehli, A.D. 1853, p. 52. Cunningham's Report, 1862–3, p. 38.

[2] Malik Chhajú is stated to have affected all the honours of kingship under the title of Mughís-ud-dín.

و ملک چهجو خودرا سلطان مغیث الدین خطاب کرد، و در تمامی
هندوستان خطبه بنام خود خوانانید Zíá Barni.

The striking of coin is likewise specified in a subsequent passage.

و ملک چهجو که چندین ماه در هندوستان خطبهٔ او خواندند و
سکه بنام او زدند p. 184.

'Alá-ud-dín, the nephew and son-in-law of the Sultán, who had been entrusted with the districts of Karra, etc., on the defeat of Chhajú, found himself on reaching his government within much of the pernicious influence of the hostile Túrki adherents of his predecessor, and listening to their persuasions, he seems to have commenced the series of his most successful campaigns against the Hindú kingdoms of the south, mainly with a view to the acquisition of sufficient wealth, by plunder, to enable him to equip such a force as should completely overpower the royal army. Eventually, however, deceit was preferred to overt insurrection; and the Sultán having been deluded into visiting 'Alá-ud-dín in his camp, at Karra, was assassinated while clasping the hand of his treacherous nephew.[1]

Jalál-ud-dín Fírúz Sháh.

No. 120. Gold. Weight, 167 grs. Unique. B.M.

This is a most crude and ill-executed piece, which, though bearing the name of Dehli on the margin, has every appearance of being the produce of dies prepared in 'Alá-ud-dín's southern camp, with a view to the ready conversion of plunder into coin. The legends imitate, in their tenor, the conventional epigraphs of the silver coinage, but the characters are badly formed and at times unintelligible. This is particularly the case with the marginal legend, where the word سکه has to be taken for granted, and the date appears as ثمانين و ستماين, 680 A.H., which is clearly an error. The gold of which the piece is composed is unrefined and unequally wrought.

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[1] Among the casual incidents mentioned by Zíá Barni as occurring during this reign, may be noted the famine after the death of Sidi Maulí, when wheat rose to the price of "jital per *sír*;" the Sultán's expedition in person to Rantambhor in 689 A.H.; the inroad of the Mughals in 691 A.H.; the Sultán's march to Gwalior in 695 A.H.

No. 121 (pl. ii. fig. 50). *Silver*. Weight, 168 grs. DEHLI. Dates observed, A.H. 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695.

Small square area, with broad margin.	Square area, occupying the entire surface of the coin.
الامـــام	السلطان الاعـــظـــم
المستعصـــم	جلال الدنيا والديـن
امير المومنين	ابو المظفر فيروز شاه
	الســـلـــطـــان

Margin—

ضرب هذه الفضة بحضرة دهلي في سنه احدي و تسعين و ستمايه

No. 122 (pl. ii. fig. 51). Silver and Copper. Weight, 52 grs.

Obverse—السلطان الاعظم جلال الدنيا و الدين

Reverse { Centre, فيروز شاه

Margin, श्री सुलतां जलालुदीं. *Srí Sultán Jaláludín.*

No. 123 (pl. ii. fig. 52). Copper. Weight, 67 grs.

Obverse—السلطان الاعظم

Reverse—جلال الدنيا و الدين

No. 124 (pl. ii. fig. 53). Silver and Copper. Weight, 29 grs.

Obverse—عدل فيروز شاه

Reverse—بحضرت دهلي

THE CONTEMPORARY COINAGE OF BENGAL.

We now reach a period in the numismatic history of India when Bengal had arrived at the honours of a national coinage. The tangible produce of its mints henceforth runs in a parallel series with the Imperial issues, and continues to have an illustrative bearing upon the Chronicles of the Sultáns of Dehli up to the epoch when Firúz Sháh III. (A.H. 754) had to abandon for ever, on the part of his dynasty, any pretence of interference with the southern section of the old dominion. The special interest of the Dehli Patháns in the Bengal currencies only recommences towards the final close of the rule of the race, when Shír Sháh Afghán carried up to Northern India certain modifications and novelties in the current coin, which were again imitated and adopted, simultaneously with the far more material fiscal reforms introduced from below, by Akbar on his recovery of India in A.H. 1003; regarding either of which appropriations this great Mughal's laudatory biographers are discreetly silent.

The passages quoted below,[1] from Ibn Batutah, will put the reader in possession of all that is known of the obscure local history of the day. The information contributed by the acute African traveller is to be found in none of the indigenous authors, who, writing under Imperial inspirations, naturally disregarded the annals of a subordinate province, however important a part that section of India was destined to play in the future of the land. From these and other

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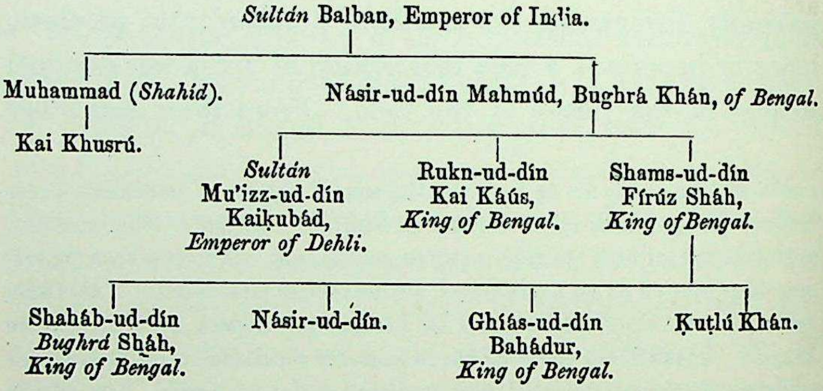
[1] "C'est le Sultan Fakhr eddîn, surnommé Fakrah, qui est un souverain distingué, aimant les étrangers, surtout les fakîrs et les soufis. La royauté de ce pays a appartenu au Sultan Nâssir eddîn, fils du Sultan Ghiyâth eddîn Balaban, et dont le fils, Mo'izz eddîn, fut investi de la souveraineté à Dihly. Nâssir eddîn se mit en marche pour combattre ce fils; ils se recontrèrent sur les bords du fleuve, et leur entrevue fut appelée la rencontre des deux astres heureux. Nous avons déjà raconté cela, et comment Nâssir eddîn abandonna l'empire à son fils et retourna dans le Bengale. Il y séjourna jusqu'à sa mort, et eut pour successeur son (autre) fils, Chams eddîn, qui, après son trépas, fut lui-même remplacé par son fils, Chihâb eddîn, lequel fut vaincu par son frère, Ghiyâth eddîn Behâdour Boûrah. Chihâb eddîn demanda du secours au Sultân Ghiyâth eddîn Toghlok, qui lui en accorda, et fit prisonnier Behâdour Boûrah. Celui-ci fut

ensuite relâché par le fils de Toghlok, Mohammed, après son avénement, à condition de partager avec lui la royauté du Bengale; mais il se révolta contre lui, et Mohammed lui fit la guerre jusqu'à ce qu'il le tuât. Il nomma alors gouverneur de ce pays un de ses beaux-frères, que les troupes massacrèrent. 'Aly Châh, qui se trouvait alors dans le pays de Lacnaouty, s'empara de la royauté du Bengale. Quand Fakhr eddîn vit que la puissance royale était sortie de la famille du Sultan Nâssir eddîn, dont il était un des affranchis (ou clients), il se révolta à Sodcâwân سُدكاوان [Sonárgaon] et dans le Bengale, et se déclara indépendant. Une violente inimitié survint entre lui et 'Aly Châh.. Lorsqu'arrivaient le temps de l'hiver et la saison des boues, Fakhr eddîn faisait une incursion sur le pays de Lacnaouty, au moyen du fleuve, sur lequel il était puissant. Mais quand revenaient les jours où il ne tombe pas de pluie, 'Aly Châhi fondait sur le Bengale par la voie de terre, à cause de la puissance qu'il avait sur celle-ci."—Vol. iv. p. 212. See also Lee's Translation, p. 195.

"Les autres émirs s'enfuirent près du Sultan Chams eddîn, fils du sultan Nâsir eddîn, fils du sultan Ghiyâth eddîn Balaban, et se fixèrent à sa cour. . . . Les émirs fugitifs séjournèrent près du sultan Chams eddîn. Dans la suite, celui-ci mourut, léguant le trône à son fils Chihâb eddîn. Ce prince succéda à son père; mais son frère cadet, Ghiyâth eddîn Behâdoûr Boûrah (ce dernier mot signifie, dans la langue indienne, *le noir*, الاسود), le vainquit, s'empara du royaume, et tua son frère Kothloû Khân, ainsi que la plupart de ses autres frères. Deux de ceux-ci, les sultan Chihâb eddîn, et Nâsir eddîn, s'enfuirent près de Toghlok, qui se mit en marche avec eux, afin de combattre le fratricide. Il laissa dans son royaume son fils Mohammed en qualité de vice-roi, et s'avança en hâte vers le pays de Lacnaouty. Il s'en rendit maître, fit prisonnier son sultan Ghiyâth eddîn Behâdoûr et reprit avec ce captif le chemin de sa capitale."—Vol. iii. p. 210. See also Lee's Translation, p. 128.

Ibn Batutah himself was, however, by no means infallible; for instance, on one occasion he makes Bahádur the *son* of Násir-ud-dín instead of the *grandson* (iii. 179, 210; iv. 213). Dr. Lee's version again, in omitting the intermediate name of Násir-ud-dín, skips a generation, and makes Shams-ud-dín Fírúz a *son* of Balban (p. 128).

incidental materials I have constructed a genealogical tree of the rulers of Bengal who succeeded Násir-ud-dín Mahmúd, the son of Balban, whose undisturbed return into Bengal has been already noticed.


Sultán Balban, Emperor of India.
Muhammad (*Shahid*).
Kai Khusrú.
Násir-ud-dín Mahmúd, Bughrá Khán, *of Bengal.*
Sultán Mu'izz-ud-dín Kaikubád, *Emperor of Dehli.*
Rukn-ud-dín Kai Káús, *King of Bengal.*
Shams-ud-dín Fírúz Sháh, *King of Bengal.*
Shaháb-ud-dín *Bughrá* Sháh, *King of Bengal.*
Násir-ud-dín.
Ghiás-ud-dín Bahádur, *King of Bengal.*
Kutlú Khán.

The coins of Rukn-ud-dín Kai Káús, discovered in the celebrated Kooch Bahár hoard,[1] had already enabled me to correct the erroneous statement of Ziá Barni[2] as to the length of the reign of Násir-ud-dín Mahmúd, *Bughrá Khán*, of Bengal, in virtue of the sustained series of dates 691–695, still legible on the pieces in question. The inscription I am now able to quote establishes more definitely Kai Káús's position as local sovereign of Bengal in 697 A.H., confessing allegiance to the supreme Sultán 'Alá-ud-dín, "Sikander us Sáni;" and it officially confirms the fact already testified to by Mír Khusru (p. 140, *ante*)[1] and Ibn Batutah, that he was the "son of Mahmúd, son of the Emperor" (Balban); a descent the coins are careful to indicate in the unusual iteration of

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[1] Colonel J. G. Haughton, to whom we are indebted for the knowledge of this *trouvaille*, was so obliging as to furnish me with some interesting details of the site of discovery and illustrations of the neighbouring localities:—"The place where the coin was found is about three miles S.W. of Deenhatta, not far from the Temple of Kunteswaree (or Komıt Eswaree) on the banks of the river Dhurla. Near to this temple is a place called Gosain Moraee, a short distance from which are the ruins of Kuntesur Rája's capital, called Kunteswaree-Pat, consisting of a mound of considerable extent, which has been surrounded with several ditches and walls, which are again protected at the distance of a mile or two by enormous mounds of nearly 100 feet high. The brass vessels, in which the treasure was deposited, were ordinary brass *lotahs*, to which the top or lip had not been fixed, but in lieu thereof the vessels were covered by canister tops, secured by an iron *spike* passing from side to side."

[2] Calcutta text, 451; Ferishtah, Briggs, i. 406; Jour. R.A.S. ii. N.S. pp. 180, 188; Stewart's Bengal, pp. 80, 118.

سلطان بن سلطان بن سلطان

Rukn-ud-dín Kai Káús of Bengal.

No. 125 (pl. vi. fig. 2). Silver. Weight, 168 grs. Very rare.
Lakhnauti, A.H. 691, 693, 694, *695*.

السلــــطــــان الاعظم
ركن للدنيا والدين ابــو
المظفر كيكاوس سلطان
بــن سلطان بن سلطان

الامــــــام
المســتــعــصم
امــيــر المومنين

Margin—ضرب هذا الفضة بحضرت لكهنوتي سنة خمس وتسعين وستماية

N. Translation of an Inscription of Kai Káús found among the ruins at Gunga Rámpúr, near Dinájpúr.

"This Musjid was built in the reign of the king of kings, Rukn ud dunyá wa ud dín, the Shadow of God upon earth, *Kái Káús Sháh*, son of Mahmúd, son of the Emperor, the right hand of the Khalífah of the Lord, Assister of the Amír ul Múminín, may God perpetuate his kingdom and his government—by instructions of the Khusru of the age, Shaháb ul Haḳ wa uḍ dín, Sikandar us Sáni, the Ulugh A'azim, Humáyún Ẓafar Khán . . . of the empire, may God perpetuate his kingdom and his government, and extend his years, ... and under his own royal superintendence and orders, on the 1st of Muharram, A.H. 697."

I am indebted to Colonel Nassau Lees for the above rough translation of the original inscription, which was prepared by

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[1] از پدر آمدن شاه جهان كيكاوس بر برادر . . .
—Lucknow, lithographed edition of the *Ḳirán us S'adain*, A.H. 1261, p. 102; and Prof. Cowell, in J.A.S. Bengal, 1860, p. 234.

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him as a mere basis for a more complete rendering, when the *text* of the inscription itself could be defined and determined. Unfortunately there is no transcript or facsimile of the Persian epigraph in this country, so that neither Col. Lees nor myself deem it desirable to alter or amend in any respect the simple outline at present available.

BENGAL MINTS.

With a view to obviate needless breaks in the continuity of the leading subject of the coins of the Dehli Patháns, it may be as well to take this opportunity of disposing of the geographical relations of the southern mints, irrespective of the epochal order of their occupation as towns, or their elevation into *quasi*-capitals, invested with the faculty of coining the king's money.

The most interesting details furnished by the Bengal coins are those which illustrate the geographical distribution of the chief seats of government. Unlike the Northern Muslims, who, in the difficulty of moving the Eastern hosts, conventionally deemed essential to an Imperial progress, over the imperfect highways of Hindustán, confined themselves ordinarily to one fixed metropolis, the kings of Bengal enjoyed facilities of river communication almost unprecedented: their various capitals, situated within easy distance of each other, were at all times accessible by water,—a differently constructed State barge secured at any season free approach to the seaboard cities of the great Ganges, or to the towns on the narrow channels of the western streams. These frequent regal visitations are incidentally recorded on the coinage of the day, by the insertion of the prefix of حضرت to the name of the selected residence, which term colloquially marked the presence of royalty within the limits of the favoured fiscal division.

The leading mint cities were seven in number—No. 1, *Lakhnauti*;[1] 2, *Fírúzábád*; 3, *Satgaon*; and 4, *Shahr Nau*, in Western Bengal, afterwards called *Jannatábád*; with 5, *Sonárgaon*; and 6, *Mu'azamábád*, in the eastern division of the province; and 7, *Ghíáspúr*.

2. *Fírúzábád* (Pandúa), in addition to the preferential *Hazrat*,[2] is styled variously *Baldat* and بلدة المحروسة "fortified city," a specification which probably refers to the separate though closely proximate citadel of *Akdálah*, so celebrated in the military annals of the time.

3. *Satgaon* is distinguished by the prefix of عَرْصَة (Atrium), a term which, in India, came to be conventionally used for a tract or geographical division of country,[3] a sense which would well accord with its application to Satgaon, as the third circle of government of Bengal proper.[4] In the reign of 'Ázam the mint specification is more directly brought into association with the town itself in the seemingly more definite localization involved in the word قَصَبَة.[5]

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[1] See note, p. 107, *suprà*.

[2] حَضْرَة "Præsentia, Majestas; urbs, in qua est regis sedes." Dr. Blochmann has an interesting article on the Antiquities of Pandúa in the Proceedings As. Soc. Bengal, April, 1870, p. 120.

[3] عرصهٔ زمین in Persian means "surface of the earth." Sir Henry Elliot remarks, "The words used before Akbar's time to represent tracts of country larger than a *Pergunnah* were شق, خطه, عرصه, دیار, ولایت, and اقطاع. —Glossary of Indian Terms, *sub vocec*, "Circar."

[4] Zíá Barni, in introducing his narrative of Tughlak Sháh's expedition to Bengal (A.H. 724), speaks of that province as consisting of the three divisions of "Lakhnauti, Sonárgaon, and Satgaon" (p. 450, printed edition).

The Áín-i-Akbari, in the sixteenth century A.D. thus refers to Satgaon, "There are two emporiums a mile distant from each other; one called Satgaon, and the other Hoogly with its dependencies; both of which are in the possession of the Europeans."—Gladwin, ii. p. 15. See also Rennell, p. 57; Stewart's Bengal, pp. 186, 240, 243, 330.

[5] From قَصَبَ "amputavit;" hence قصبة "oppidum, *vel potior*, præcipua pars oppidorum."

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4. *Shahr Nau* I suppose to have been the intitulation of the new city founded near the site of the old Lakhnauti:[1] it is variously denominated as the simple *'Arsat* or عَرَصَة المعمورة (populous, richly cultivated).[2] This progressively less appropriate name may be supposed to have merged into the official Jannatábád, which follows in mint sequence.

5. *Sonárgaon*, as a rule, retains its ancient discriminative

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[1] The decipherment of the name of this mint (as Colonel Yule remarks) determines for mediæval geography the contested site of Nicolò Conti's *Cernove.* The Venetian traveller in the East in the early part of the fifteenth century is recorded to have said that "he entered the mouth of the river Ganges, and, sailing up it, at the end of fifteen days he came to a large and wealthy city called Cernove. . . On both banks of the stream there are most charming villas and plantations and gardens. . . . Having departed hence, he sailed up the river Ganges for the space of three months, leaving behind him four very famous cities, and landed at an extremely powerful city called Maarazia, . . . having spent thirteen days 'on an expedition to some mountains to the eastward in search of carbuncles,' . . . he returned to the city of Cernove, and thence proceeded to Buffetania."—The travels of Nicolò Conti, Hakluyt Society, London, pp. 10, 11.

See also Purchas, vol. v. p. 508; and Murray's Travels in Asia, ii. 11.

There are also many interesting details regarding the geography of Bengal, and a very full and lucid summary of the history of the period, to be found in "Da Asia de Joáo de Barros" (Lisbon, 1777, vol. iv. [viii.], p. 465, *et seq.*). At the period of the treaty of Alfonso de Mello with "El Rey Mamud de Bengala" (the king whom Shír Sháh eventually overcame), the name of Shahr Nau had merged into the old provincial designation of *Gaur*, which is described as "A principal Cidade deste Reino he chamada *Gouro*, situada nas correntes do Gange, e dizem ter de comprido tre leguas das nossas, e duzentos mil vizinhos" (p. 458). Satigam makes a prominent figure on the map, and Sornagam is located on a large island within the Delta, the main stream dividing it from Daca, which is placed on the opposite or left bank of the estuary.

More modern accounts of the old city may be found in Purchas, i. 579; Churchill, viii. 54; also Rennell, Memoir of a Map of Hindoostan, London, 1788, p. 55; Stewart, p. 44; and in a special work entitled "The Ruins of Gour," illustrated with maps, plans, and engravings of the numerous Muhammadan edifices extant in 1817, by H. Creighton, 4to., London, Black, Parbury, & Allen. See also Elliot's Glossary of Indian Terms, *sub voce*, Gour Brahmin.

[2] The adjective (derived from عَمَرَ *coluit*) will admit of other meanings, and, if understood as applying to a town, might signify "well built," locally *pakka*.

designation of حضرة جلال, *Hazrat-i-Jalál*, a title which it eventually had to cede to its rival Mu'azamábád.

6. *Mu'azamábád.* There is no definite authority for the determination of the site of this city, which, however, seems to have been founded by Sikandar bin Ilíás about 758–759 A.H., when his own coins record that he himself assumed the title of المعظم, without trenching upon the superlative الاعظم, usually reserved for the reigning monarch, his father. I conclude that there was a gradual migration from the ancient Sonárgaon to the new city, which grew in importance from the governmental centre implied in the اقليم معظم اباد of 760 A.H. to the بلدة المعظم معظماباد, "the great city of Mu'azamábád," of about 780 A.H., till, on the disappearance of the name of Sonárgaon from the marginal records of the general currency, the new metropolis appropriates to itself the immemorial حضرة جلال of Eastern Bengal.[1]

I refer for the moment to No. 7, *Ghíáspúr*, which Col. Haughton informs me is near Gaur, about one mile N.W. of Maldah; and I take the opportunity of remarking that the sole remaining name of *Jannatábád*, an epithet which is erroneously stated to have been given by Humáyún to the re-edified Lakhnauti,[2] is here seen to have been in use a century and a half before the later Mughal dynasty of India made its way into Bengal.

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[1] Dr. Blochmann remarks in regard to the site of this city—"The two mints, Mu'azamabad and Ghíáspúr, of Thomas, can perhaps be verified; the former is probably the same as Mu'azzampúr in Sonárgaon, the latter belongs to Lakhnauti.'—Proceedings As. Soc. Bengal, April, 1870, p. 121.

[2] Áín-i-Akbari, ii. p. 11; Stewart's Bengal, 124. Bengal itself was called جنة البلاد "The Paradise of Regions." Ibn Batutah, iv. p. 210, says the Persians called Bengal دوزخ پر نعمة "ce qui signifie," en arabe, "un enfer rempli de biens." (The original Arabic text quotes the passage in imperfect Persian as دوزخست بور نعمة). Marsden, Num. Orient. p. 578, gives a coin of 'Alá-ud-dín Husain Sháh, of A.H. 917, purporting to have been struck at "*Jannatábád.*"

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The single item remaining to be mentioned in regard to the later mints is the substitution of the word قصبة in lieu of بلدة[1] as the prefix to Fírúzábád, in parallel progress towards centralization with the mint phraseology adopted in the case of Satgaon.

THIRTEENTH KING (A.H. 695; A.D. 1295).

On the assassination of his father, in the camp of 'Alá-ud-dín, in Ramazán, A.H. 695, Rukn-ud-dín Ibráhím[2] was elevated to the throne of Hindústán. His mother, Malika-i-Jahán, who retained her influence in the city of Dehli, in her haste to secure a representative of royalty, selected him in preference to the proper heir, Arkali Khán, who was absent at his post at Multán. This gave Ibráhím a temporary existence as a king,—a dignity which otherwise, as a younger son and a minor, he was neither entitled nor fitted to hold. 'Alá-ud-dín, having already at his command a powerful army, and the wealth of the Dakhan supplying him with unlimited means of increasing his forces and conciliating wavering opponents, had merely to advance on the capital to put an end to the rule of the boy Sultán, whose safety was for a time secured by a precipitate flight to Multán.

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[1] بلد "regio," also "oppidum." The plurals are said to vary, in correspondence with the independent meanings, as بِلَاد and بُلْدَان.

[2] ملک رکن الدین قدرخانرا ابراهیم شاه خطاب شد

—Táríkh Mubárak Sháhi, MS.; and Ziá Barni, text, p. 184.

No. 126 (pl. ii. fig. 54). Silver. Weight, 167 grs. Dehli, A.H. 695 Unique. (Lord Auckland's collection, B.M.)

السلطان الاعظم	السلطان الاعظم
ركن الدنيا و الدين	جلال الدنيا و الدين
ابو المظفر ابراهيم شاه	فيروز شاه ناصر
السلطان بن	امير المومنين

Margin—

ضرب هذا الفضة بحضرت دهلي سنه خمس و تسعين و ستمايه

The modification in the general tenor of the legends of this piece seems to mark the confessed insecurity of the rule of the new king; the insertion of the name and titles of the late Sultán at full length looks like an appeal to the allegiance of the adherents of the father's throne, an apostrophe in favour of the direct line against the threatened claims of the too-powerful nephew. The usual record of the name and title of the long since defunct Al Must'aṣim is replaced by the attribution to the deceased Fírúz Sháh of the ancient, but latterly disused designation of *Násir Amír al Múminín*.

No. 127 (pl. ii. fig. 55). Silver and copper. Weight, 52 grs. Rare.

Obverse—السطان الاعظم ركن الدنيا و الدين

Reverse—ابراهيم شاه بن فيروز شاه

No. 128. Copper. Weight, 59 grs. New variety. Similar in types to No. 52, pl. ii. My cabinet.

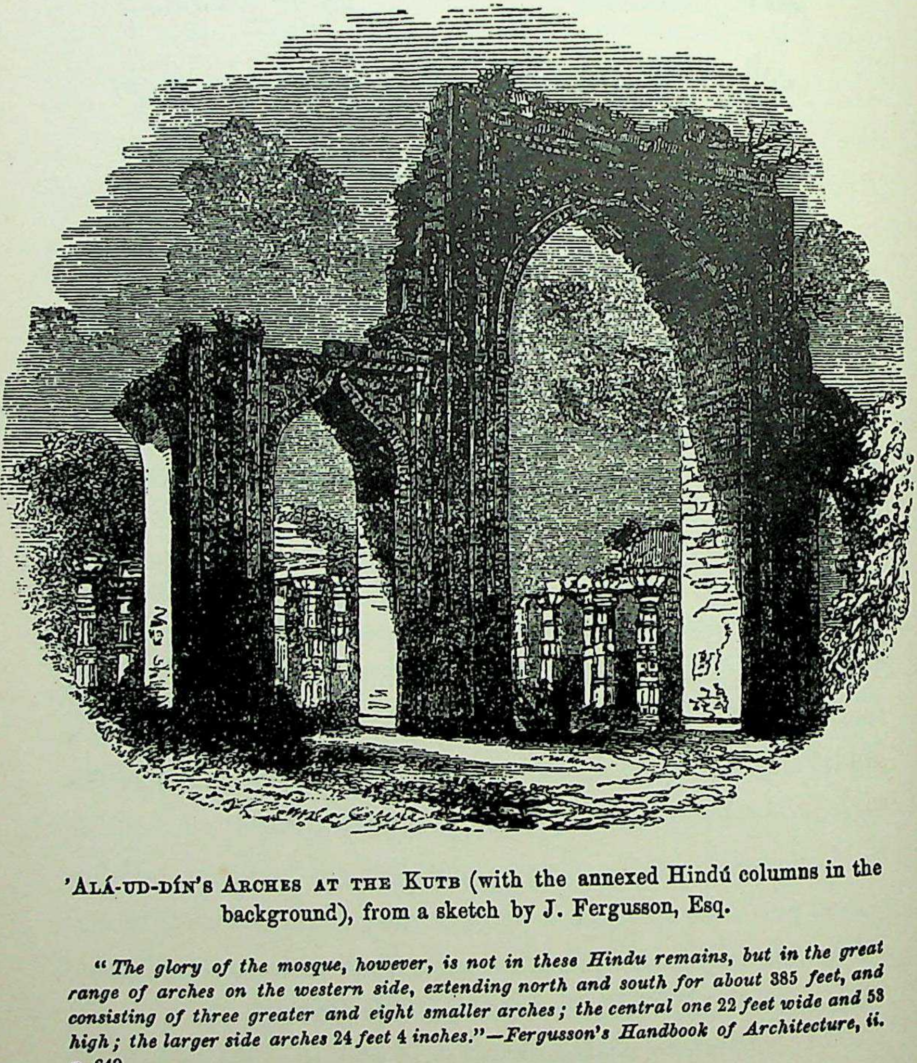
Obverse—السلطان الاعظم

Reverse—ابراهيم شاه بن فيروز شاه

No. 129 (pl. ii. fig. 56). Copper. Weight, 38 grs. Rare.

Obverse—عدل ابراهيم شاه

Reverse—بن فيروز شاه



'Alá-ud-dín's Arches at the Kutb (with the annexed Hindú columns in the background), from a sketch by J. Fergusson, Esq.

"*The glory of the mosque, however, is not in these Hindu remains, but in the great range of arches on the western side, extending north and south for about 385 feet, and consisting of three greater and eight smaller arches; the central one 22 feet wide and 53 high; the larger side arches 24 feet 4 inches.*"—*Fergusson's Handbook of Architecture, ii. p.* 649.

Fourteenth King (A.H. 695–715; A.D. 1295–1315).

'Alá-ud-dín *Muhammad Sháh* went through the almost needless form of a double coronation; he clearly felt himself already *Sultán* of his own delegated domains, as well as of his recently-acquired conquests in the Dakhan, from the moment he let fall the too-confiding hand of the monarch to whom he owed so much, and whom he so foully ensnared and murdered; he therefore lost no time in assuming the insignia of royalty in his camp at Karra, on the 16th of Ramazán, A.H. 695. This act, as it were, constituted the symbolical assumption of the regal turband of the south; he had still to win the jeweled tiara of Imperial Dehli. In the attainment of this object he proceeded with his accustomed energy and craft, but the scale seems to have been finally turned by the empty treasury of legitimacy at the capital and the superabundant resources of the spoiler of the Idolaters. His catapults, instead of projecting hard stones against the city walls, were employed, as toys, in scattering largesses among the greedy multitude, for which purpose the unconverted stars of the southern peninsula[1] were peculiarly appropriate. The Maliks and Amírs, each in his own degree, received retainers, in some instances to the amount of 50 *mans* of gold. And so the Indian world welcomed him, it might be said, in the words of the Latin poet—

> "Æra dabant olim; melius nunc omen in auro est;"
>
> Ovid Fast, i. 220.

On the 22nd Zí'l hijjah, 695, the new Sultán was formally enthroned in the ancient fort of Prithví Rája.[2]

I will not attempt to recapitulate the political events of this long reign; they were of the ordinary character—insurrections,[3] invasions of the Mughals, one of which claims a separate notice in some detail, and the repeated successes of Malik Náib Káfúr, who had latterly taken his master's place in command of the army in the Dakhan, and who, in the end, availed himself of that master's dying hours to forward his own intrigues against the lawful heirs of the throne. 'Alá-ud-dín died of dropsy in his palace at Dehli on the 8th of Shawwál, 715 A.H.[1]

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[1] The daily distribution amounted to پنج من اخترزر "five *mans* of star gold." See also note under coin No. 131, page 169.

[2] Táríkh 'Aláí; Elliot's Historians, iii. 69.

[3] One of these revolts was nearly fatal to the Sultán's life, another was so far remarkable that, while the Sultán was occupied in the siege of Rantambhor, a

There are some incidents in 'Alá-ud-dín's story which more nearly concern these numismatic chronicles, such as his assumption of the title of the Second Alexander, and a notion entertained of a new religion, of which he was to be the oracle, both of which items are testified to by the coins. But the most curious record of this Sultán's reign is his attempt to increase his too-costly army by administrative regulations which should lower the prices of provisions and other necessaries of life, while it crops out, in an obscure way, that he contemplated a simultaneous reduction in the silver *tankah*[2] from 175 grains to 140, for the special benefit of his

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turbulent man called Háji Maulá succceded in getting possession of the royal palace at Dehli, and absolutely elevated a puppet king, in the shape of a descendant of 'Ali, who, however, only enjoyed the doubtful dignity for a few days for which he paid the forfeit of his head.—Elliot's Historians, iii. 176.

[1] The death of 'Alá-ud-dín is now pretty well determined as having occurred on the 8th of Shawwál, A.H. 715. Although Mír Khusru, in one instance, makes it the 7th (Khizr Khán and Dewal Ráni), in another of his works he fixes the death of the one king and the accession of the other at (زشوال دوچهار) or 8th of Shawwál (Diwán Bakíya Nakíya) (Dehli Archæological Journal, 1853, p. 39). The Táríkh Mubárak Sháhi confirms the date of the 8th.

[2] Ferishtah's account of the weights and measures of this period is as follows: "In order to comprehend the true value of the money of that day, it is proper to state that a *tankah* was equal to a *tola* in weight, whether of gold or silver; and a *tankah* of silver was equal to 50 *jitals*. The *jital* was a small copper coin, the weight of which is not now known: some conceive it was a *tola*, while others are of opinion that the *jital*, like the *pice* of the present day, weighed 1¾ *tola*. The

own payments to the *Sipáhis.*[1] We have no specimens of these so inappropriately called *'Adalis,* but we meet with them on the first accession of Muhammad bin Tughlak (A.H. 725), to which occasion it may be as well to defer a more extended notice of them. The associate operation upon the prices of provisions has a far more general interest; as although the machinery employed implied a certain amount of force and compulsion, the main object was sought to be obtained by taking payment of the revenue in kind, the establishment of royal granaries, state advances to merchants,[2] and other simple and obvious methods of facilitating the supply of the capital. So that, in effect, the official rates for the metropolis do not depart greatly from what might be styled the normal scale of prices, when distributed over an average of town municipalities; and this *quasi*-equity is indeed supported by the natural open-market rates obtaining at a later period, when money may have been supposed to have fallen in relative value.

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man of the time of Jalál-ud-dín (Fírúz) weighed 40 *sírs*, and each *sír* weighed 24 *tolas.*"—Ferishtah (Briggs), vol. i. p. 360, Bombay text, p. 199.

[1] I obtain this information, in somewhat of an obscure form, from the Táríkh 'Aláí, otherwise called the Khazáin ul Futúh, of Mír Khusru—a curious and somewhat rare *prose* work of that celebrated poet. The fancies and metaphors of Persian verse are here untrammelled by the requirements of metre, and the author has an opportunity, of which he has availed himself to the full, of indulging in quips and quirks, and verbal conceits, that a European interpreter scarcely thanks him for. The work is otherwise highly valuable as a contemporary narrative of some of the events of 'Alá-ud-dín's reign, extending from A.H. 695 to 710. My own copy of the work was made for me at Dehli, in 1853, from the original MS. in the possession of Nawáb Amín-ud-dín Ahmad Khán, of Lohárú, under the supervision of our most learned "Ṣadr ul Ṣadúr," *Maulavi Sadr-ud-dín*, who has added an elaborate commentary and marginal notes to all the difficult passages. See also Elliot's Historians, iii. 67; J.R.A.S. iii. N.S., 115.

[2] We learn incidentally that the *Multánis* were the leading traders of the day. —J.A.S.B. 1870, p. 31.

'ALÁ-UD-DÍN MUHAMMAD'S ENFORCED RATES OF PRICES OF PROVISIONS, ETC.

A.H. 703–715 = A.D. 1303–1315.

Wheat, حنطة	per *man.*	7½ *jítals.*[1]
Barley, جو	"	4 "
Rice, in husk, شالي	"	5 "
Mash, ماش, vetch (*Phaseolus radiatus*).	"	5 "
Nakhúd, نخود, pulse (*Cicer arietinum*).	"	5 "
Moṭh, موٹھ, lentil (*Phaseolus aconitifolius*)	"	3 "
Sugar, شكرتري	per *sír.*	1½ "
Brown sugar, شكر سرخ (گُڑ *Guṛ*) . .	"	⅓ "
Butter, روغن ستور, *Ghí* (گهي) . . .	2½ *sírs.*	1 "
Oil of Sesamum, روغن كنجد	3 "	1 "
Salt, نمك	2½ *mans.*	5 "

The *jítal*, as will hereafter appear, is $\frac{1}{64}$ of a *silver tanka* of 175 grs.; at the exchange of 2*s.* per *tankah*, the *jítal* would therefore correspond in value to $1\frac{1}{2}$ farthing, or rather less, as the 2*s.* is a very high rate of exchange for the old silver piece. The Dehli *sír*, of an approximate date, is stated to have been 70 *misḳáls*, and the *man* 40 *sírs.*[1] Now, taking the weight of the *misḳál* at the even average of 72 grains, the *sír* would range at 5040 grains (or 720 grains less than the Troy pound of 5760 grains), and the *man* would amount to 201,600 grains, or 35 lbs. troy, and 28·8 lbs. avoirdupois, or a little over the quarter of a hundredweight, or less than half a bushel of wheat.[2] To complete the evidence contributed by this foreign statician, we must examine a *second* or alternative test, which he introduces, apparently for the more ready comprehension of the western world, in the form of a parallel estimate of the Indian *man* under its equivalent in Egyptian *dirhams*. Of these latter, $102\frac{2}{3}$ are stated to correspond *in weight* with the Dehli *sír*. Now, although the *dirhams* of the Mamlúks of Egypt of this period, in their tangible and once current form, would only lead to endless complications as bases of calculation,[3] yet the *quasi*-theoretical scheme of the normal Arabian system of the relative weights of gold and silver coins, gives us a curious approximation to the return obtained from the simple calculation just formulated. Whatever may have been the weight of the *miskál proper* in various localities, in many cases the *dínár* continued to be a *miskál* pure and simple; and theory was ordinarily consistent in recognising the weight of the silver *dirham* as 7-10ths of the gold piece. Under this aspect we have to examine a new scale of proportions: the latest and most exhaustive authority, M. Queipo,[1] has fixed the actual weight of the representative Egyptian *miskál* at 4·666 grammes, or 72·007 grains. This return will make the *dirham* equal to 50·405 grains, the *sír*=5174 grains, and the *man*=206,983 grains, or over 29 lbs. avoirdupois. The estimate formed by the French editors of Ibn Batutah,[2] in regard to that African traveller's independent comparisons of Dehli weights with those of the west, arrives at a closely approximate return. The *man* of Dehli is stated, on repeated occasions in the Arabic text, to be equivalent to 20 Barbary *raṭls*, or 25 Egyptian *raṭls*, and the former are fixed by the calculations of the modern commentators as corresponding to two-thirds of a French kilogramme of 15,432·35 grains troy, or 1½ *raṭls*=1 kilogramme, which makes the *man* equal to 28·78 lbs. avoirdupois.

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[1] Calcutta printed edition of the text of Zíá Barni, pp. 305, 310, and independent MSS.; also Tabakát-i Akbari MS., E.I.H., No. 997, p. 61. Briggs's return of the price of wheat is erroneous: the درمني "per *man*," of the original had been corrupted into دومنی; hence the statement of "7½ *jítals* per *domuny*." Elliot's Historians, iii. 192. The Bombay text of Ferishtah is right in the درمني, p. 196. See also Jour. As. Soc. Bengal, 1870, p. 25, Major Fuller's excellent translation of Zíá Barni, with comments by Dr. Blochmann. I have adopted Dr. Blochmann's emendation of the Persian text of the Bibliotheca Indica in as far as refers to دونيم "2½" after نمك "salt," in lieu of the printed ديدو, which, however, is very constant in the various MSS.; but I retain شكرتري even as I adhere to the pronunciation of *Kohrám*, on the faith of the local speech of the present day.

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[1] Le *ritl* (*rotl*) de l'Inde, qui porte le nom de *sír* سير, pèse 70 *mithkals*, qui, estimés en dirhems d'Egypte, en valent $102\frac{2}{3}$. Quarante *sír* forment un *mann* من واحد. On ne connaît pas dans l'Inde la méthode de mesurer les grains. —Not. et Ext. xiii. p. 212.

I see that Colonel Yule, in his "Cathay and the way thither" (Hakluyt Society) ii. 458, has adopted the French estimate of the *man*, *i.e.* 28·78 lbs.

[2] A bushel of wheat is estimated to weigh 60 lbs. avoirdupois.—McCulloch, Com. Dict. p. 1397. Prinsep, with less exact data, made the bushel 80 lbs avoirdupois.—Useful Tables, p. 113.

[3] Eighteen specimens I have weighed in the B.M., ranging within the period of A.H. 655 and 747, vary to the extent of from 37 grains up to 63.

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[1] Don V. Queipo, in his Essai sur les Systèmes Métriques et Monétaires des anciens peuples (Paris, 1859), makes the Almoravide *dínár*, theoretical weight, 3·960 grammes; general weight, 3·945 grammes. The Arabic *dínár*, theoretical weight, 4·250 grammes; general weight, 4·228 grammes. The *miskál* (Arabic) of Egypt, theoretical weight, 4·720 grammes; general weight, 4·666 grammes.

[2] MM. C. Defrémery and B. R. Sanguinetti. Paris edition (Société Asiatique) A.D. 1855.

Ịbn Batutah tells us that the *man* of Dehli was equal to 20 *raṭls* of Barbary
بمن دهلی و المنّ الواحد منها خمسة و عشرون رطلا مصريّة ii. 74.
والمنّ عشرون رطلا مغربيّة iii. p. 430. والرطل الهندیّ عشرون رطلا من
ارطال المغرب و خمسة و عشرون من ارطال مصر iii. 382.
and again—والرطل الدهلی عشرون رطلاً مغربية iv. p. 210.

I do not follow out in further detail these western comparisons, which are in a measure speculative, as I am satisfied to accept what may be termed the internal evidence as my test. Tried by this criterion, India at the present day furnishes a very complete series of *man* weights,[1] which all the incidental changes of time and the imperfectly preserved units of scattered localities have but very slightly removed from the standard testified to by the intelligent travellers of the middle of the eighth century of the Hijrah.

Any attempt to determine with precision the authoritative weight of the *man* or other measures of grain, must be associated with the crucial test of corroborative coin equivalents. From time immemorial, in India, coins had been, to all intents and purposes, *weights*; pieces of money, in our sense of the term, having grown out of the archaic use of sections of metal of a fixed and determinate gravity, following the popular form of small square or oblong plates of silver, designated by the appropriate name of *Puráṇas* (पुराण "old"). But when these crude sections of metal, like the link of the

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[1] The local *mans* approximating to this weight still in use in 1821 A.D. may be cited in alphabetical order.

	lbs.	oz.	dr.
Anjar, Bhuj	27	3	8
Anjengo, Travancore	28	0	0
Bangalore	25	0	0
Belgaum	26	3	15
Bellary	25	6	0
„ (*man* for cotton)	26	5	4
Bombay	28	0	0
Carwa, Canara	26	0	0
Canara, *ordinarily*	28	0	0
Cochin, Malabar	27	2	11
Puna (*man* for metals)	27	9	9$\frac{2}{3}$
Kotá, Ajmír	30	0	0
Madras	25	0	0
Madurá	25	0	0
Mangalor	28	2	4
Negapatam	25	0	0
Onor, in Canara	28	8	0
Ujjain	32	5	13
Pondicherry	25	14	5½
Quilon, Travancore	27	5	8
Sankarídrúg, Carnatic	25	0	0
Seringapatam—light	24	4	8
heavy	33	15	12
Trichinopoly	25	0	0

—Prinsep's Useful Tables, p. 115; and Mr. W. H. Bayley's MS. Notes.

knight's chain, passed into the more advanced grade of "coined money," they were still scrupulously made to contribute to the double purpose of measures of metallic value and officially recognized weights.[1] Their importance, in the latter capacity, consisting in their furnishing readily available tests of any disputed higher weights or measures, so liable to be tampered with by shopkeepers from all time and among all nations.[2] So completely was this their second mission accepted in the land, that in later days, under Sikandar bin Buhlól (A.H. 854–894), the idea was conceived of extending the already mixed duties of the public coinage into a means of determining measures of length, so that the sufficiency of the cloth merchant's yard should be instantaneously checked by the very money of the customer in which he was to receive payment. The earlier phases of these imperfect schemes of exchange, when primitive peoples were first emancipating themselves from the inconveniences of crude barter, and replacing undefined handsful by specific measures of weight, may be traced back to the first contact of the Aryans and the Indigènes, when the pastoral tribes of the former impinged upon the urban communities of the latter, whose civilization partook so largely of the Turanian element. There is internal evidence in the composite table of weights preserved in "the Laws of Manu," of contributions from the independent resources of both races. Aryan thought, crudely developed at first, confined itself to the ever ready standard of barley—a grain they held in high honour, and beyond the cultivation of which their herdsmen do not seem to have progressed in the Vedic age.[1] As intelligence advanced, and the subtle faculties of the exotic mind were brought into play, the tendency was clearly towards infinitesimals, so that the checks and counter checks laid down are found to include every shade of variety of the produce of the soil that human ingenuity could set against each other.[2]

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[1] There is a special injunction in Manu, addressed to the King—"Let all weights and measures be well ascertained by him, and once in six months let him re-examine them."—Manu, viii. 42.

[2] 'Alá-ud-dín had great trouble with this class of his subjects; and among the punishments awarded for short weights, we find a very distinct provision for *the* pound of flesh. "Whatever was found deficient" in the articles purchased was made up by "flesh equal to the deficiency," cut from the seller's "two cheeks" [buttocks].—Regulation 4, J.A.S.B. 1870, p. 39. Elliot's Historians, iii. 197.

It was the duty of barley to testify against mustard-seed if the latter failed in its full maturity; mustard, in its coloured varieties, had to qualify the poundage of poppy-seed, which again had to go through the severe trial of being pitted against impalpable dust. Encouraged by these tangible minutiæ, the Aryan Brahmins seem to have ventured upon the introduction of fanciful and purely imaginary quantities, so that measures of weight vanished into thin air (to an extent to defy the keenest modern Microscopist).[3] But in all cases of the more clearly defined weights of Manu, there seems to have been a serious intent and supposed power of proof by the test of seeds, balanced against other varieties of seed. The altered conditions of culture, and the uncertainty of the exact locality which furnished the data for ancient calculations, may deny us the power of reconstructing the general scheme; but there is no doubt that the early tables were designed to supply a normal and ever ready criterion by means of single or multiplied totals of indigenous grains, which from time immemorial had centered in the convenient goldsmith's *rati*, which, though not exclusively Indian, was of such universal acceptance throughout the continent as to be essentially traditional; and it is from this starting point, or unit in the ascending scale, that the purely Indian weights proceed, each, in its turn again, following some readily accessible product of nature peculiar to the soil.

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[1] Wilson's Rig Veda, i. pp. xli., lvii.; and iii. p. xi. Max Müller (Chips, i. p. 31) renders this as "corn;" he does not say wheat. The adherence to reckoning by barley-corns is curiously shown in the later Vedic literature, where, in spite of the presence of the *rati*, "the bar of gold" is defined "as of the size of three barley-corns."—Weber, Zeitschrift, xv. (1861), 139. Prof. Weber further remarks that the term *masha* is not found at all in texts supposed to be Vedic.

[2] "Manu, viii. 131. Those names of copper, silver, and gold [weights] which are commonly used among men for the purpose of worldly business, I will now comprehensively explain. 132. The very small mote which may be discerned in a sunbeam passing through a lattice is the first of quantities, and men call it a *trasarenu.* 133. Eight of those *trasarenus* are supposed equal in weight to one minute poppy-seed (*likhyá*), three of those seeds are equal to one black mustard-seed (*rája sarshapa*), and three of these last to a white mustard-seed (*gaura-sarshapa*) 134. Six white mustard-seeds are equal to a middle-sized barley-corn (*yava*), three such barley-corns to one *krishnala* [raktika], five *krishnalas* of gold are one *másha.*" etc.

[3] "MANU, YÁJNAVALKYA, and NÁRADA, trace all weights from the least visible quantity, which they concur in naming *trasarénu* (त्रसरेणु), and describing as the very small mote which may be discerned in a sunbeam passing through 'a lattice.' Writers on medicine proceed a step further, and affirm that

'Alá-ud-dín, as we have seen, was particular about his metric system, and probably the full force of ancient methods of reckoning still survived in the existing weights, so that some one description of current money ought so to fit in with and confirm the estimated amount of the *man* as to balance into even sums, or an approach thereto. Neither the 175

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a *trasarénu* contains 30 *paramánu*, or atoms: they describe the *trasarénu* in words of the same import with the definitions given by Manu, and they furnish another name for it, *vansí*. According to them, 86 *vansís* make one *maríchi*, or sensible portion of light. . . . Writers on medicine trace this weight (the *rati*) from the smallest sensible quantity in another order.

30 *paramánus*, or atoms = 1 *trasarénu* or *vansi*.
86 *vansi* = 1 *maríchi*, or sensible quantity of light
6 *maríchis* = 1 *rágicá*, or black mustard-seed.
3 *rágicás* = 1 *shershapa*, or white mustard-seed.
8 *shershapas* = 1 *yava*, or barley-corn.
4 *yavas* = 1 *gunjá* or *raktiká*.

A *raktiká* is also said to be equal to 4 grains of rice in the husk."—Sir Wm. Jones's Works, viii. p. 870.

grain *tankahs* (the old *ṣataraktika*=100 *ratis*), nor the newly-devised *'adalis* of 140 grains (80 *ratis*), will divide into the equivalent number of grains now assigned to the *man*; but, strange to say, the ancient *puráṇas*, whose modern representatives abound in the coinage of the day, taken at the rate of 32 *ratis*, or 56 grains, fill in the exact sum of 201,600 grains, without even the break of a fraction, either in the totals of the *sir* or the *man*: 90 *puráṇas* represent the *sir*, and 3,600 give the measure of the *man*. The *ratis*, however, in either case are uneven, viz., 2880 and 115200; but this fact need not disturb the result, as the *ratis* in the higher measures of produce, as in the Ghí table, I shall have occasion to quote hereafter from the *Jyotisha*, run into all sorts of irregular totals.

It may freely be conceded that this intervention of nines and twelves is opposed to the scale of multiples in the *quasi* Turanian division of the Tables of Manu, where the dominant idea among the tangible weights is confined to fours and tens, culminating in three hundred and twenties and three thousand two hundreds; but if another section of the evidence is examined, it will be found that these 56-grain coins do not themselves accord with the theoretical scheme of the associate currency of the first half of the eighth century A.H. This is a question which will have to be treated more at large later in our inquiry, but it is adverted to in this place as it has an important bearing upon the point immediately at issue. On the other hand, if we examine the Tables of Manu in their lower or fanciful divisions, the mystic threes and ordinary sixes are found to be sufficiently frequent, from which figures alone we might infer that the Aryans had originated this portion of the combined table of weights.

From whatever source derived, India is seen to have achieved, in very archaic periods,[1] either out of her marked indigenous aptitudes, or her frequent chances of exotic inspiration, a very comprehensive system of weights and measures, extending to the elaboration of a binary Troy scheme,[2] associated with all the essentials of an independent Avoirdupois theory, which, perhaps wisely, avoided any recognition of measures of capacity.

'Alá-ud-dín Muhammad Sháh.

No. 130. (Marsden, DCCI.). *Gold.*[3] Weights, 168·6, 169·5, and 166 grs. *Dehli*, A.H. 704, 709, 711.

Circular area.	The legend occupies the full face of the coin.
سکندر الثاني	السلطان
يمين الخلافة ناصر	علا الدنيا و الدين
امير المومنين	ابو المظفر محمد شاه
	السلطان

Margin—ضرب هذه السکه بحضرة دهلي في سنه تسع و سبعمايه

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[1] The age of Manu is undetermined. Wilson attributes portions of the work to 800 B.C. (Translation, Rig Veda, i. p. xlvii.) M. Vivien de St. Martin says, "la période des temps héroïques," *i.e.* 13th and 12th centuries B.C. (Étude de Paris, 1859, and Revue Germanique, 1861, p. 80). Max Müller (Sanskrit Literature, pp. 61–133, and his Letter in Morley's Digest, p. cxcvii.). Prof. Cowell prefers "3rd century B.C.," but adds that it was "undoubtedly composed from older documents" (Elphinstone's India, p. 249). The *Jyotisha* Table, which is given at full in the general summary of Muhammad bin Tughlak's coin weights, is also supposed to date some centuries B.C. (Über den Veda Kalendar, Namen Jyotisham, von A. Weber. Berlin, 1862).

[2] There were separate tables for gold and silver.

[3] Prinsep's assay of these gold pieces gives a return of *touch* or pure gold in 100 parts of 94·2. Jalál-ud-dín (Fírúz)'s gold is placed at 94·5, while Akbar's average mounts up to 100 : 100.—Useful Tables, ii. 50.

No. 131. *Gold.* Variety. (Small thick coin, pale gold.)

Weight, 158 grs. Size, 4, or 0·71 inch diameter. B.M.

Legends as in the Metropolitan pieces, but the Persian characters follow a different system of writing, and are very imperfectly defined. These coins seem to have been direct re-mintages of the southern gold *huns*, without any attempt at refining the metal up to the higher Dehli standard.[1] They furnish, in short, another instance of the facilities of the rough system of converting plunder into camp currencies on the instant.

I am indebted to Sir Walter Elliot, S.I., for the following note upon the southern "stars," the palpable plunder of the south :—

"I do not think the 'Akhtar Zar' can refer to the Star pagoda, which had a very limited range, being confined to the province of Arcot, and appearing after the fall of the last of the independent Hindu kingdoms, when every petty Zamindar began to exercise the privilege of coining money.

"The currency of the Dakhan seems always to have been gold under the Hindus. The standard was the *hún* (in Dravidian, *hoṇ*, *poṇ*), but the circulation was carried on chiefly by means of its fractional parts, the *panam* or *fanam*, as is the case in Travancore—the only existing normal Hindu state—to this day. There, the dealings of the bazar and the collection of the revenue are all made in *fanams*; but as the labour and trouble of reckoning large sums in such a shape would be intolerable, the cashiers and *seráfs* are provided with wooden boards, the surface of which is studded with 100 or 1000 cavities, the exact size of a *fanam*, which they plunge into the heap of coin, and by a little manual dexterity, take up the exact sum and throw it aside.

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[1] "By the attention of his Majesty (Akbar Sháh), gold and silver are refined to the highest degree of purity. The highest degree of purity is called in Persian *dahdahí*, but they do not know above *ten* degrees of fineness; whilst in India it is called *bárahbani*, as they have *twelve* degrees. Formerly the old *hun*, which is a gold coin current in the Dakhan, was thought to be pure, and reckoned at ten degrees; but his Majesty has now fixed it at 8½ : and the round, small gold dínár of 'Alá-ud-dín, which was considered to be 12 degrees, now turns out to be 10½."—Aín-i-Akbari, *Blochmann*, p. 18.

"In early times, not only the *fanam*, but the half and quarter *fanam* were in use. I have specimens of all of these, bearing the impress of the Chalukya boar, the Pandyan fish, and other effigies of dates far anterior to the Star pagodas. There seems little doubt, therefore, that اخترزر refers to the sacks of *fanams* which Malik Káfúr brought from the south and poured out before the admiring eyes of the king of Dehli, and which the historian has aptly described as showers of "golden stars." Some of the halves and quarters are just like little scales of gold, and a stream of them issuing from the bag in which they were kept would sparkle as they fell. The ancient coins are thinner and finer than the more recent examples.[1]

"When the Dewáni of the southern districts first came into our hands, at the beginning of the century, the revenue was all collected in *fanams*."

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[1] The average weight of the gold *fanam* is 6 grains, of the half *fanam* 3 grains, and the quarter 1½ grains.

Tested weights of the gold *fanam*, half and quarter *fanams* of S. India.

	grs.		aver. grs.
Three Buddhist *fanams*, with the impress of a lion and sword (Numismatic Gleanings, Madras Journal, No. I. fig. 38)	19·8	=	6·6
One ditto, half ditto, with lion only (Num. Gl. I. 39)			2·9
Two Chalukya *fanams*, with the boar (Num. Gl. II. 6–9)	12·6	=	6·3
One ditto, quarter ditto (Num. Gl. II. 10)			1·5
One ditto, ditto			1·35
Two Choḷa *fanams*	15	=	7·5
Two ditto, half ditto	6·6	=	3·3
One Chera *fanam*, with elephant			6·
Two Pandyan ditto, with fish	12·3	=	6·15
Two ditto, ditto, with different type	12·7	=	6·35
Two *fanams*, with a fish and monkey	14·4	=	7·2
One ditto, ditto, a little different			6·8
One quarter ditto, fish and monkey type			1·4
Six Velanâti *fanams*, of more recent date, probably of the Bijanagar Râj	35·3	=	5·883
Four Bahâduri *fanams*, coined by Haidar Ali, ruler of Mysor, at the Ikeri mint	22·8	=	5·7

No. 132 (pl. iii. fig. 57; Marsden, DCCV.). *Silver.* Weight, up to 168 grs. Common.[1] *Dehli.* Dates observed, A.H. 695, 698, 699, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 708, 709, 710, 711, *712*, 713, 714, and 715.

Legends similar to those on the gold currency. Areas as usual in the silver money, with a broad margin on the Reverse, as follows:—

ضرب هذه الفضة بحضرة دهلي في سنة اثني عشر وسبعماية

No. 133. *Silver* coins similar to No. 132, but struck at دارالاسلام (*Dehli?*[2]) in A.H. 703, 705, 706, 708, 710, 713, 714. Weight, 166 grs.

No. 134. (*Gold.* B.M. A.H. 711.) Similar coins, in silver, minted at قلعه ديوگير *Deogír,*[3] in A.H. 714. Weight, 167 grs.

These coins are remarkable, as affording the earliest specimens available of the Muhammadan coinage of the lately conquered city of Deogír, a capital so peculiarly identified with the history of 'Alá-ud-dín's early rise and eventual accession to sovereignty.

The year 711 impressed upon one of the pieces under review offers a date but little removed from the epoch of Náib Káfúr's more comprehensive subjection of the central Indian provinces, of which Deogír then constituted the metropolis.

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[1] 'Alá-ud-dín Muhammad Sháh seems to have coined money enough for many future generations, inasmuch as we find that on Timur's conquest of Dehli, in A.H. 801, among other plunder specified "vessels of gold and silver, and money without count, on which was the impression of 'Alá-ud-dín Khiljí," Zafar Námah of Sherif-ud-dín 'Ali Yezdi (A.D. 1424).—Translation by Captain Hollings in the Dehli Archæological Society's Journal (1852), p. 22.

[2] Ibn Batutah, iii. 261. دارالخلافة.

[3] Now Daulatabad, in the Dakhan. Lat. 19° 57′, long. 75° 18′.—Hamilton's Hindustán, ii. 147. The old name was Tagara. See also more full notes under Muhammad Tughlak's mint cities.

No. 135 (pl. iii. fig. 59). Silver and copper. Weight, 55·7 grs. Dates, *702*, 703, 704, 705, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715.

Obverse—السلطان الاعظم علاالدنيا و الدين

Reverse—ابو المظفر محمد شاه السلطان ٧٠٢

No. 136 (pl. iii. fig. 60). Copper. Weight, 55·4 grs. Dates, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 707, 708, 709, *710*, 711.

Obverse—السلطان الاعظم علاالدنيا و الدين

Reverse { Area—محمد شاه
Margin—श्रीः सलतां अलावदीं ७१०
Ṣríh Sultán Alávadín, 710.

The coins, Nos. 135 and 136, are noticeable, as offering the first instance in the present series of the general use of Arabic numerals in recording dates, it having been hitherto the custom to write the numbers in the full length of their respective Semitic denominations.

No. 137. Copper. Weight, 67 grs.

Obverse—السلطان الاعظم

Reverse—علاالدنيا و الدين

No. 138. Copper. Weight, 23 grs.

Obverse—عدل محمد شاه

Reverse—بحضرت دهلي

O. (Specimen) Inscription of 'Alá-ud-dín Muhammad Sháh, on the arches at the Kutb, dated 10th Shaw'al, A.H. 710.[1]

حضرت عليا خدايكان سلاطين مصطفى جاه الضادع الامر الله
المخصوص بعنايت اكرم الاكرمين علاءالدنيا و الدين غوث الاسلام و
المسلمين معز الملوك و السلاطين القايم بتائيد الرحمن ابو المظفر
محمد شاه السلطان سكندر ثاني يمين الخلافة ناصر امير المومنين
خلد الله ملكه بناء اين خيرات سنت و جماعت است عمارت
فرمود

Mír Khusru gives us the following account of the edifices erected and repaired by the Sultán 'Alá-ud-dín:—

"The Sultán determined upon adding to and completing the Masjid Jám'i of Shams-ud-dín, 'by building beyond the three old gates and courts a fourth, with lofty pillars,' 'and upon the surface of the stones he engraved the verses of the Ḳurán in such a manner as could not be done even on wood; ascending so high that you would think the Ḳurán was going up to heaven, and again descending, in another line, so low that you would think it was coming down from heaven. When the whole work was complete from top to bottom, he built other masjids in the city, so strong that if the nine-vaulted and thousand-eyed heavens were to fall, as they will, in the universe-quake, on the day of resurrection, an arch of them would not be broken. He also repaired the old masjids, of which the walls were broken, or inclining, or of which the roof and domes had fallen. He then resolved to make a pair to the lofty minár of the Jáma'i Masjid, which minár was then the single celebrated one of the time, and to raise it so high that it could not be exceeded. He first directed that the area of the square before the masjid should be increased, that their might be ample room for the followers of Islám. He ordered the circumference of the new minár to be made double that of the old one, and to make it higher in the same proportion, and directed that a new casing and cupola should be added to the old one.′ The stones were dug out from the hills, and the temples of the infidels were demolished to furnish a supply. He also ordered repairs to be made to all the other masjids and forts throughout the kingdom. As the tank of Shams-ud-dín was occasionally dry, 'Alá-ud-dín cleaned it out and repaired it, and erected a dome in the middle of it."—Elliot's Historians.

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[1] See Vignette, p. 156, *suprà*; and Syud Ahmad's work, pp. 21, 27, 58, etc.

Further accounts of Alá-ud-dín's completion of the city of Síri are to be found in Ziá Barni; Journal As. Soc. Bengal, 1870, p. 22; and notices of the buildings at Dehli are also given in Mír Khusru's other work, the Ḳirán us S'adain, Lucknow edition, p. 22, *et seq.*

In speaking of the Mosque (at the Kutb) Ibn Batutah states—

"L'emplacement de cette mosquée était un boud-khânah, c'est-à dire un temple d'idoles; mais, après la conquête de Dihly, il fut convertie en mosquée. Dans la cour septentrionale de la mosquée, se trouve le minaret, qui n'a pas son pareil dans toutes les contrées musulmanes . . . le Sultan Kothb eddîn [read 'Alá-ud-dín] voulut bâtir, dans la cour occidentale, un minaret encore plus grand; il en construisit environ le tiers, et mourut avant de l'avoir achevé . . le Sultan Kothb ['Alá] eddîn avait formé aussi le projet de bâtir une mosquée cathédrale à Sîry, surnommé le sejour du Khalifat (دارلخلافة); mais il n'en termina que le mur faisant face à la Mecque, et le mihrâb."—Paris edition, iii. 152.

COINS OF THE MOGHUL INVADERS.

As the leading object of those human locusts, the Moghuls, in their expeditions over the more civilized divisions of Asia, was mere plunder,[1] it was seldom that they left

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[1] **Bábar's Memoirs (Erskine), 69.**

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any record of their raids over the devoted lands beyond the devastation which marked their track. In the case of Khwájah Kutlugh, however, who pushed his forces up to the walls of Dehli, in 697–8 A.H.;[1] to be defeated ignominiously at last by Alá-ud-dín Muhammad Sháh, the horde over which he ruled seem to have contemplated a more permanent occupancy of Southern soil, and to have established temporary head-quarters at Ghazní: here, and in less permanent camps, they put forth copper money, of which the following are specimens. In addition to these coins, with Persian legends, there are others of similar type and fabric, bearing Mongol characters, amid which the name of *Argún*[2] (A.H. 683–690)) can be distinguished, and which associate themselves with the former currency by similarly placed *Tamghas*, in the form of crude outlines of तै?. and more directly with India, in the use of a coarse type of Devanagari letters on the margin.

No. 139. Copper. (My cabinet.) *Ghazní.*

ضرب	Small circular centre.
في بلد غز	[3] ཆ
نه	*Margin*—
	سكه بنام قتلغ خواجه[4]

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[1] Ferishtah, Briggs, i. 329; Zia-i-Barni, p. 259, Calcutta text; J.A.S. Bengal, 1869, p. 199, and 1870, p. 43; D'Ohsson, ii. 520; Price, ii. 616; De Guignes, iii. 270; Elphinstone's India, 391. A plan of 'Alá-ud-dín's intrenchment, on the occasion of Ṭurghi's investment of Dehli, in A.H. 703, is engraved, in illustration of Mr. Campbell's article, in the Jour. As. Soc. Bengal, 1866, p. 217.

[2] Argún, who held Persia and the proximate lands, is spoken of by Marco Polo as "King of India," cap. i. § 5.

[3] A Tibetan ཆ = छ *chh.*

[4] The Bombay lithographed edition of *Wassáf* gives the correct pronunciation of the name as قُتْلُغْخوجه شهزاده پسر تُوَا. The father's name is properly *Dúd.*

No. 140. Copper. (Col. Stacey's collection. Museum of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.)

قتلغ خواجه سكه	Small circular centre. عدلي *Margin*—ضرب . . . اس

Fifteenth King (A.H. 715; A.D. 1315).

The Eunuch Malik Náib Ḳáfúr, the *Hazár Dinári* of early days, when that sum had been recently paid for him, whom we have seen perfidiously watching the failing strength, if not accelerating the end of 'Alá-ud-dín, now proceeded to carry out his schemes with less reserve; setting aside unhesitatingly those who were fit to reign, even to the exclusion of the publicly installed heir Khizr Khán,[1] he selected as his puppet a child, who was placed on the throne under the title of Shaháb-ud-dín 'Umar. Affairs seemed to be promising for the hero of so many southern campaigns, who had brought more plunder into the imperial treasury than even his most acquisitive master, when his own career was unexpectedly brought to a close by the swords of some *Páiks,*[1] thirty-seven days after the death of 'Alá-ud-dín. In the meantime, as the rightful successor had been deprived of sight by Káfúr, another brother of seventeen, by name Mubárak, was placed in the position of Regent for the youthful Sultán; but he did not long delay the almost inevitable consummation of a transfer of the crown to his own brow, and 'Umar's capacity to reign was determined for ever by the destruction of his eyes in his prison at Gwalior.

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[1] This young prince's name is held in pleasant remembrance in the land in connexion with one of the few bits of sentiment the age has left on record. At a time when the rude Turks had given place to the more assimilative Khiljís, who were slowly domesticating themselves in their new home, and in their bolder raids into the depths of the south imperceptibly becoming Indianized, discovering in their progress that there existed a very archaic local nobility, whose chivalry they might well admire, they were led to seek for alliances with the daughters of these ancient houses. In the present instance, a damsel of gentle blood and great repute for beauty, the daughter of the Rája of Guzerát, named *Dewal Dévi*, on whose behalf armies had already been set in motion, was captured, by hazard, with all her escort and conveyed to Dehli, where her own mother, *Kamalá Dévi*, by a similar chance, was found established as the favoured wife in the Imperial Palace. In such proximity no wonder that the young heir apparent appreciated her charm and was finally permitted to marry her in all form. The tale of their loves has been made the subject of a Persian poem, of 4,200 verses, the produce

No. 141 (pl. iii. fig. 63). Silver and copper. Weight, 54·5 grs. Very rare. A.H. *715.*

السلطان الا	ابو المظفر
عظم شهاب الد	عمر شاه
نياو الدين	السلطان
	۷۱۵

---

of the prolific pen of Mír Khusru (715 A.H.), entitled قصهٔ خضر خان و دول راني "The Story of Khizr Khán and Dewal Rání" (Sprenger's Catalogue of Oude MSS. p. 470). The interest in her tale is, however, sadly shaken by her after fate—the penalty of her beauty—as the enforced wife of two succeeding Sultáns, one the brother and murderer of her husband, the other the foul Pariah, the Usurper, Khusru, against whom her proud Rájpút blood must, indeed, have risen.

[1] Hindústáni Local Infantry. The *Pyke* of *our* early wars, and Militia, later in the day, in Cuttack.

SIXTEENTH KING (A.H. 716-720; A.D. 1316-1320).[1]

Of all the dangers that beset an Eastern throne, in latitudes like Dehli, none are more fatal to youthful monarchs than the free license of indulgence inseparable from despotism. In a country where morals were confessedly lax, and sensualism was elevated into a study, if not a science; where the enforced idleness of the mid-day hours was eminently suggestive to southern blood, nurtured under a religion which demanded but few denials, and where kings, in their degree, claimed to be khalifs; no wonder that these spiritual superiors sought to anticipate the imagined rewards of the Turk's paradise,[2] amid the living Houries of the lower world. These, and the coarser vices which descended to odious practices and obscene outrages upon decency, may well be left for us behind the screen of the walls of an Eastern Harem. It is sufficient to say that while the Sultán occupied himself with every variety of degrading debauchery, all power in the State was surrendered to a *Hindú,* who had been elevated, in the first act of the reign, to the style and title of *Khusru*

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[1] Ziá Barni dates the accession of Kutb-ud-dín Mubárak in A.H. 717 (text, p. 381), but the Editors, very properly, correct this on the authority of Mír Khusru's work, the نهسپهر, into 716. The Táríkh Mubárak Sháhi fixes the date, with apparent precision, to the 20th Muharram, 716 A.H. The Tabakát Akbari, Budaoni, and Ferishtah, all follow Ziá Barni's error.

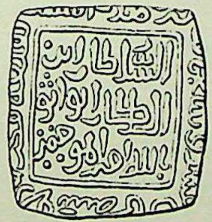
[2] Cap. LV. "*Revealed* at Mecca. They shall repose on couches, the linings whereof *shall be* of thick silk, etc. . . . Therein [in the garden of heaven] *shall receive them beauteous damsels,* refraining their eyes *from beholding any besides their spouses*: whom no man shall have deflowered before them. . . Therein *shall be* agreeable and beauteous *damsels*: having fine black eyes, *and* kept in pavilions *from* public view. Whom no man shall have deflowered, before their destined *spouses,* nor any genius [*jinn*]."—Cap. LVI. "*Revealed* at Mecca. And *there shall accompany them* fair damsels having large black eyes, resembling pearls hidden *in their shells*: as a reward for that which they shall have wrought . . and *they shall repose themselves* on lofty beds. Verily we have created *the damsels of paradise* by a *peculiar* creation . . . for *the delight* of the companions of the right hand."—Sale's Koran, edit. 1764. See also cap. 77.

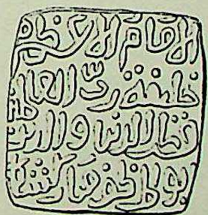
Khán, and who imitated and emulated both the successes of Káfúr in the south, and his mastery over the reigning monarch, till, in the end, he personally superintended the murder of his patron, within the private apartments of the palace, and, amid an indiscriminate slaughter of all possible adherents of the old Muhammadan dynasty, ascended the steps of the newly vacated throne.

The public incidents of the reign are comparatively unimportant. No Mughals harassed the soil, no famines afflicted the people, but the quiet and prosperity of the land, reflected in the luxury of the capital, excites the regrets of the contemporary historian, who pathetically adverts to the enhanced price of slaves of all degrees and denominations, and the inconvenient average advance of 25 per cent. upon the rates of provisions previously established by royal edict.

Kutb-ud-dín Mubárak Sháh.

No. 142. *Gold.* Weight, 169·5 grs. Colonel Guthrie's collection.
Square piece. *Kutbábád*, A.H. 718, 719, 720.





Square area.	Entire surface.
السُّلطان ابن	الاَمَامُ الاعظم
السلطان الوثق	خليفه ربّ العالمين
بالله امير المومنين	قطب الدنيا والدين
	ابو المظفر مُباركشاه

Margin—

ضرب هذه السكه بقلعه قطب اباد في سَنه ثمان عشرو سبعمايه

Only three specimens in gold are known—Frœhn. Num. Kuf. p. 81, pl. xxi., A.H. 720; Sir T. Metcalf's collection, A.H. 719; Prinsep's collection, B.M.

This coin presents us with the name of a new place of mintage. We have no direct means of ascertaining the locality indicated by the designation of *Kutbábád.* This, however, is the less a subject of regret, as there seems good reason to suppose that the term was only momentarily applied to that portion of the many-citied Dehli, which had the honour of constituting the immediate residence of Mubárak Sháh.

No. 143 (pl. iii. fig. 64). Weight, 170 grs.
Circular piece. DEHLI, A.H. 716, 717.

السلطان الاعظم	اسكندر الزمان
قطب الدنيا و الدين	يمين الخلافة ناصر
ابو المظفر مبازكشاه	اميـــر المومنين
السلطان بن السلطان	

Margin—
ضرب هذه الفضة بحضرة دهلي في سنة سبع عشر و سبعمابة

No. 144. Silver. Circular piece. *Dár ul Khiláfat*, A.H. 717. Legends similar to those on the square piece of 718, No. 145, *infra.*

No. 145 (pl. iii. fig. 65). Silver. Weight, 169 grs.
Square piece. *Dár ul Khiláfat*, A.H. 718, 719.

	Area.
الامام الاعظم	السّلطان ابن
خليفة ربّ العالمين	السلطان الواثق
قطب الدنيا و الدين	بالله امير المومنين
ابو المظفر مباركشاه	

Margin—
ضرب هذة السكة بحضرة دار الخلافة في سنة ثمان عشر و سبعماية

No. 146. New variety. Silver. Weight, 168 grs. Col. Guthrie.
Square piece. Dár ul Khiláfat, A.H. 717.

	Area.
الامام الاعظم	مباركشاه السلطان
قطب الدنيا و الدين	ابن السلطان الواثق
ابو المظفر خليفه الله	بالله امير المومنين

Margin—

ضرب هذه الفضة بحضرة دارالخلافة في سنة سبع عشر و سبعماية

Whatever 'Alá-ud-dín's designs in regard to new systems of religion may have amounted to, it remained to his son to disavow entirely the spiritual supremacy of all other Khalifs and successors of Khalifs, and to appropriate that title to himself. This is evidenced in coins, Nos. 142, 144, 145, 146, which display a simultaneous change from the comparatively humble epithet of "Right hand of the Khalifat," etc., in conjunction with the marginal record of "Struck at the capital, Dehli," to be found on the early coinage of the reign (No. 143), to the assumption of the style and title of "The most mighty Imám, Commander of the Faithful," as introductory to his own self-assumed sacerdotal designation of Al Wásik Billah, accompanied by a marginal legend, showing that Dehli in this change had arrived at the honours of a second Baghdad.

This arrogation of hierarchical honours is still more clearly developed on the legends of the coins of the year 718, wherein Mubárak calls himself "Supreme Pontiff," "*Khalifah* of the God of heaven and earth." So that while this eccentric young man was parading himself in female costume, to the scandal of all beholders, when the fit was on him; at other moments he was devoting himself to superintending the dogmas of Islám, and erecting mosques with a pious zeal worthy of a better cause and more consistent teaching.[1]

No. 147. Silver and copper. Weight, 55 grs. A.H. 716. New variety. Unique. Mr. E. C. Bayley's collection.

Obverse—السلطان الاعظم قطب الدنيا و الدين

Reverse—ابو المظفر مبارک شاه السلطان ٧١٦

No. 148. Silver and copper. Weight, 55 grs. A.H. 716, 717. Rare.

Obverse—السلطان الاعظم قطب الدنيا و الدين

Reverse—مبارکشاه السلطان بن السلطان ٧١٦

No. 149 (pl. iii. fig. 67). Silver and copper. Weight, 55 grs. A.H. 717, 718, 719, 720.

Obverse—الامام الاعظم قطب الدنبا و الدين ٧١٧

Reverse—ابو المظفر مبارکشاه السلطان بن السلطان

No. 150 (pl. iii. fig. 68). Silver and copper. Weight, 55 grs. A.H. 717, 718.

Obverse—خليفه رب العالمين قطب الدنيا و الدين ابو المظفر ٧١٧

Reverse—مبارکشاه السلطان ابن السلطان الواثق بالله امير المومنين

151. Silver. Weight, 55 grs. Square. A.H. 718, 719, 720.

Obverse { Square area, قطب الدنيا و الدين
Margin, ابو المظفر خليفه الله

Reverse—مبارکشاه السلطان ابن السلطان

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[1] Ferishtah says he built a mosque at Deogír, "which still remains."—Briggs, i. 389. He also appears to have completed the Maķbarrah of 'Alá-ud-dín, with its Mosque and Madrissah, in 717 A.H.—Syud Ahmad, p. 27.

No. 151*a*. A similar coin of mine, dated in A.H. 719, containing a large proportion of silver, weighs no less than 80·5 grains.

No. 152. Silver and copper. Weight, 56 grs.
Square. A.H. 720.

Obverse—Same legend as No. 149.

Reverse—خليفه الله مباركشاه السلطان ابن السلطان ۷۲۰

No. 153 (pl. iii. fig. 71). Copper. Square. Weight, 66 grs.

Obverse—الامام الاعظم

Reverse—قطب الدنيا و الدين

No. 154. Copper. Square. Weight, 33 grs.

Obverse—عدل مباركشاه

Reverse—بحضرة دارالخلافة

SEVENTEENTH KING (A.H. 720; A.D. 1320).

The leading point of interest, in the historical sense, of the present reign, is the sudden and unanticipated re-establishment of Hindú supremacy and the temporary degradation of Muslim prestige. Had the fortuitous representative of the ancient faith been a man of higher status and less objectionable antecedents, the subsequent chronicles of the land might have had to be differently told. If any member of the many royal races, who preserved their tribal integrity in defiance of foreign conquest, and who were already silently reasserting their place and position against the diluted nationality of the Imperial Court,—if any such had initiated or been commissioned to lead a crusade for the recovery of India for the Indians, the followers of the Prophet might, perchance, have had to recede within the proper limits of Semitic Islám, now inconveniently placed behind the line those odious Mughals had drawn between Hindústán and the western world. As it was, the unclean *Páriah,*[1] the favoured minion of the departed king, while outraging the new creed he pretended to have adopted, and needlessly offending the one class of supporters of the throne, whom the gold of the Dakhan had often won before, was unable to pretend to association with the high caste Hindú Rájas, whose resources and courage might, at this moment, have proved equal to the restitution of the ancient landmarks, could they but have accepted, as of old, a single prominent leader, to be *Mahárája Adhirája* of the scattered kingdoms and principalities which had latterly lost somewhat of their early facility of agglomeration. The Muhammadan biographer of the day is almost pathetic in his horror of *Kuráns* desecrated and used as seats, and pulpits degraded into pedestals for Hindú idols; or the equally grave offence, in the eyes of the faithful, of Khusru's taking to wife the Hindú Princess *Dewal Dévi,* the widow of the late Sultán, and the coincident distribution of other Muhammadan women to Idolatrous masters. Amid all these overt acts, the Usurper seems to have outwardly professed Islám; he styles himself *Násir-ud-dín,* "Defender of the Faith," *Walí Amír al Múminín*; but whether he refers in this term to the late Sultán or to some imaginary "Commander of the Faithful," is not clear; and his titles were repeated in the public prayer with as much formality as if he had been a most orthodox believer.

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[1] برواري, परवारी, "an individual of low caste, chiefly employed as village watchmen, gatekeepers, porters, etc. Of the three terms for this people—परवारी, घेड, महार, "the first is a courteous or conciliating term; the second is a term of reviling; the third a mere appellative without implication." Molesworth's Maráṭhi Dictionary. "The Purwary is a Hindoo outcast, who eats flesh of all kinds, and is deemed so unclean as not to be admitted to build a house within the town."—Briggs, Ferishtah, i. p. 387, note.

Captain Grant Duff, in enumerating the divisions of castes and trades of the normal village system in the Dakhan, speaks of the *Mhar* or *Dher* as the very lowest order of Shunkerjatee except the *Mang*; . . . . the *Mangs* are not so intelligent as the *Mhars*; . . . both the one and the other . . are exceeding filthy in many respects."—History of the Mahrattas, London, 1826, p. 31.

For the rest, the incidents of his reign are soon told. We have the usual attempt at exterminating all the adherents of the late monarch, profuse distribution of gold, and no effort spared to attach the influential nobles of the old Court. Among the rest, Fakhr-ud-dín *Júná,* the son of Gházi beg Tughlak, Governor of Daibalpúr, who chanced to have remained in Dehli, seems to have been either bought over or intimidated, until he had an opportunity of escaping and joining his father, who, supported by the Governor of U'chh, defeated the army of Dehli sent against him, and finally advancing upon the capital, secured an easy victory over the forces of Khusru, who fled ignominiously from the field only to be dragged out of his place of concealment and beheaded.[1]

No. 155 (pl. iii. fig. 73). Silver. Weight, 145 grs. *Unique.* A.H. 720.
(Original coin, in the Stacy collection, Asiatic Society of Bengal.)
Coarsely finished piece, in apparently inferior metal.

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[1] **The Táríkh Mubárak Sháhi fixes the date of Khusru's accession as 5th of Rabí'ul awwal, A.H. 721, and assigns him a reign of four months and some days. The exact date of his execution is not given, but Tughlak Sháh is stated to have been enthroned early in Shabán, 721 A.H. Ferishtah has the 1st Shabán.**

	Centre.
السلطان الاعظم	خسرو شاد السلطان
ناصر الدنيا و الدين	الواثق خير الرحمن
ابو المظفر	ولي امير المومنين

Margin—ضرب هذه الف . . عشرين و سبعماية

No. 156 (pl. iii. fig. 74). Silver and copper. Weight, 55·7 grs. Rare.

	Centre.
السلطان الا	خسرو شاه
عظم ناصر الدنيا	*Margin*—
والدين	السلطان ولى امير المومنين

Eighteenth King (A.H. 720–725; A.D. 1320–1325).

Ghází Beg Tughlak, by birth a *Karauniah* Túrk,[1] from a very humble start in life, was glad to take service as a private soldier under Ulugh Khán, the brother of 'Alá-ud-dín

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[1] قَرَوْنِيَّة. Ibn Batutah, iii. p. 201: "Turcs connus sous le nom *Karaounah*, et qui habitent dans les montagnes situées entre le Sind et le pays des Turcs." See also Lee, p. 125. Marco Polo's account of this tribe is that their Tartar sires followed Nagodar, the nephew of Zagataï, and settled in these parts, "these being men of a light complexion, mixing with the dark Indian women, produced the race to whom the appellation of *Karaunas* is given, signifying, in the language of the country, a mixed breed; and these are the people who have since been in the practice of committing depredations not only in the country of Reo-

Khiljí; his courage and capacity, however, speedily won him a general's baton, and we find him promoted in the early days of Kutb-ud-dín Mubárak to the important frontier command of Daibalpúr, as Lord of the Marches destined to receive the first shock of the dreaded Mughals. From this position, his victorious advance upon Dehli, and final defeat of Khusru, left him almost without a competitor for the vacant throne, which, with some possibly feigned reserve, he was finally induced to accept. His rule was inaugurated by wise regulations, tending to the relief and well-being of the cultivators of the soil, whose importance in the body politic was now beginning to dawn upon the Muslim mind; indeed, the Hindú subjects were gradually reasserting their proper position in the social scale, in defiance of the prejudices of their now partially naturalized foreign rulers. This, however, did not in any way interfere with the habitual raids to the south, which seem to have been looked upon as a necessary departmental section of the administration of the empire. The heir apparent, Fakhr-ud-dín Júná, now designated as *Ulugh Khán*, was entrusted with this command, the Military Viceroyalty of the Dakhan, and started for Warangol on his first expedition in A.H. 721. Almost his earliest thoughts in this independent position savoured of

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barbe (Rudbár) but in every other country to which they have access." Marsden (1818), pp. 87, 90; Bohn's edition, p. 60; D'Ohsson, iv. 46; Ouseley, Oriental Geography, p. 140; Sherif-ud-dín's Timur Bec, c. xlv.; Pottinger, pp. 58, 139; Ferrier, Caravan Journeys, 1857, pp. 413, 431.

Shams-i-Siráj 'Afíf mentions in his Táríkh Fírúz Shábi that he has given a full account of the parentage of Tughlak Sháh in his Manákib-i-Sultán Tughlak. No copies of this work have been discovered.—Elliot's Historians, iii. p. 271.

The Khuláṣat al Tawáríkh speaks of a tradition that his mother was a Jaṭni of the Punjab. پدر سلطان ترک نژاد باسم تغلق از غلامان سلطان غیاث الدین بلبن و مادر او از قوم جٹ پنجاب بود

treason to his sire.[1] Warangol was invested, and on the point of surrendering, when certain parties to the immature conspiracy lost heart and separated themselves from the Muhammadan camp, which left Ulugh Khán no resource but a hasty and calamitous retreat to Deogir, from whence he succeeded in effectually blinding his father as to his real designs, by supplying him with a sufficient number of minor victims for his vengeance. The second invasion of the south was more successful, Bidr and Warangol were captured, and Laddar Déo, with his elephants and treasures, wives and children, was sent to the Sultán at Dehli, and the Hindú name of Warangol was obliterated for a short period in the new designation of Sultánpúr.

In 724 A.H. the Sultán proceeded in person to Bengal, where he received the submission of Shaháb-ud-dín *Bughrah Sháh*,[2] and carried the turbulent *Bahádúr Sháh*, King of

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[1] This is Ibn Batutah's account (iii. 208). Zíá Barni veils the damaging fact under general details.

[2] I have already adverted to Zíá Barni's mistakes in regard to the individual monarch then reigning in Bengal: the original error may very well have arisen from the similarity of the names of the grandfather and grandson. I append, without further comment, the passage in question as translated by Professor Dowson: "When the Sultán reached Tirhut, the ruler of Lakhnauti, Sultán Násir-ud-dín, came forth with great respect to pay homage to the Sultán; and without the sword being called into requisition, all the *Ráis* and *Ránas* of the country made their submission. Tátár Khán, foster-son (*pisar i khwánda*) of the Sultán, held the territory of Zafarábád; and a force having been assigned to him, he brought the whole country under the imperial rule. Bahádur Sháh, the ruler of Sunár-gánw made some resistance; but a cord was thrown upon his neck, and he was conducted to the Sultán. All the elephants of the country were sent to the royal stables, and the army acquired great spoil in the campaign. Sultán Násir-ud-dín had shown great respect and submission, so the Sultán gave him a canopy and a baton, sent him back, and placed Lakhnauti under his rule. Bahádur Sháh, the ruler of Sunár-gánw, was sent to Dehli with a rope round his neck, and the Sultán returned towards his capital triumphant. . . ."—Elliot's Historians, iii. 234.

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Eastern Bengal, captive to Dehli. On setting out upon this expedition to Bengal, the Sultán had infatuatedly installed Ulugh Khán as Viceroy at Dehli. The latter waited for his long sought opportunity, till his father's return in triumph to the capital, when he advanced to meet him in equal state and ceremony the conventional *one* stage on the way. Having erected a pavilion for his reception, cunningly devised to fall and crush its occupants, the Sultán and his favourite son fell easy victims to the trap, whose mechanism too effectually fulfilled its mission.[1]

No. 157. Pale gold. Weight, 172·4 grs. B.M. A coarse coin.

Obverse—السلطان الغازي غياث الدنيا و الدين ابو الظفر

The Sultán, the Ghází, Ghiás ud dunya wa ud dín Abú-l Muzaffar.

Reverse—Area, سكندر الثاني يمين الخلافة ناصر امير المومنين

The Second Alexander, right-hand of the Khiláfat, supporter of the Commander of the Faithful.

Margin— ضرب هذه ال . . . . .

This is, perhaps, the most curious hybrid piece in the entire series, exemplifying, as it does, the extreme haste resorted to in the preparation and issue of coin on the accession of a new king. In this instance there was less need of such secondary demonstration, as the elevation of Tughlak Sháh was virtually unopposed; and yet we see the State officials so precipitating the Numismatic proclamation of their chosen Sovereign as to put forth money with his name on the obverse, coupled with the incongruous titles of a former Sultán, one of whose obsolete reverse stamps has been made to do duty, on the urgency of the moment, while an appropriate die was in course of completion, which should set forth consistently the titular designations approved of by the reigning monarch, which clearly followed, in their pious tenour, a very different order of ideas, to the vain-glorious boasts of resuscitated Alexanders or other arrogant assumptions of Pontifical precedence.

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[1] Zíá Barni suppresses the fact of the intention, but Ibn Batutah is frank and outspoken on the subject.

No. 158. Gold. Weight, 170·2 grains. Very rare.
A.H. 721.

Obverse—السلطان السعيد الشهيد الغازي غياث الدنيا و الدين

The Sultán, the fortunate, the testifier, the Ghází, Ghiás ud dunya wa ud dín.

Reverse—Area, ابو المظفر تغلقشاه انار الله برهانه ٧٢١

Abú-l Muzaffar Tughlak Sháh. May God illumine his testimony. *721*.

Margin—ضرب هذه السكه . . . عشرين و سبعمايه

No. 159. Gold. Weight, 168·8 grs. Dehli, A.H. *721*, 724, 725.

Square area.	Circular area.
السلطان الغازي	تغلق شاه
غياث الدنيا والدين	السلطان ناصر
ابو المظفر	امير المومنين

Margin—
ضرب هذه السكه بحضرة دهلي في سنه احدي و عشرين و سبعمايه

No. 160. Silver. Weight, 170·2 grs. Rare. Deogír, A.H. 721.

	Area.
السلطان الغازى	تغلق شاه
غياث الدنيا والدين	السلطان ناصر
ابو المظفر	امير المومنين

Margin—
ضرب هذه السكه بقلعة ديوگير في سنه احدي عشرين و سبعمايه

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No. 161 (pl. iii. fig. 78). Silver. Weight, 170 grs. (Several specimens range as high as 169·8 grs.). Rare. Similar coin to No. 160, but struck at Dehli in A.H. 722, 723, *724*.

Margin—

ضرب هذه السكه بحضرة ذهلي في سنه اربع و عشرين و سبعمايه

No. 162. Silver. Weight, 162 grs. Colonel Guthrie.

A Bengal coin.

Following the ordinary details of the Imperial mintages, but marked both in shape, weight and fashion of the letters in its identity with the provincial coinage. The marginal records are obliterated, but there can be little hesitation in associating these pieces with Tughlak Sháh's expedition to Bengal.

No. 163 (pl. iii. fig. 79). Silver and copper. Weight, 54 grs. A.H. *720*, 721.

Obverse—السطلن الغازي غياث الدنيا و الدين ۷۲۰

Reverse—Area, تغلق شاه

Margin—**श्रीः सुलतां गयासुदीं** *Ṣrîh Sultán Gyásudín.*

No. 164 (pl. iii. fig. 80). Silver and copper. Weight, 55 grs. Dates observed, A.H. 720, *721*, 722, 723. 724, 725.[1]

Obverse—السلطان الغازي غياث الدنيا و الدين

Reverse—ابو المظفر تغلق شاه السلطان

No. 165 (pl. iii. fig. 81). Copper. Weight, 53 grs. Rare.

Obverse—تغلق

Reverse—شاه

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[1] In two well ascertained instances the *unit* runs on to 726. Mr. Freeling long ago observed the *one* example, and Major Stubbs's latest selections furnish a *second* and indubitable instance of the insertion of a final ٦ = 6 I do not however, attach any importance to these crude definitions of the ٦, which may well have been a mere ignorant rendering of a legitimate ٢ = 2.

P. Ibn Batutah has preserved a record of an inscription of this monarch on the Jám'i Musjid, at Multán, which he states he had himself seen, to the fellowing effect:—

انّی قاتلتُ التتر تسعًا و عشرین مرة فهزمتهم فحینئذ سمّیتُ بالملک
الغازی

I have encountered the Tatars on twenty-nine occasions, and defeated them; hence I am called Malik al Gházi (iii. 202).

Zíá Barni has a passage much to the same effect, p. 416, text.

We have no extant inscriptions of this Sultán, but he has left a very imperishable memorial of his reign in the stupendous Fort of Tughlakábád, the construction of which is stated by the author of the Táríkh Mubárak Sháhi to have occupied a period of more than three years. The site of the town is prominent on the accompanying plan of Dehli, situated four miles due east of the Kutb Minár and ten miles south of the modern city. The fortress is built of enormous blocks of sandstone cut from the surrounding hills; and within the citadel, which is connected with the fort by a viaduct of twenty-seven arches, is placed the equally solid mausoleum of the king. The whole undertaking, however, proved eminently futile, as his son removed his Court to the old city within forty days after his accession.[1]

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[1] Syud Ahmad's Ásár us Sunadeed, p. 29; Fergusson's History of Architecture, ii. p. 653.

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BENGAL COINS.

I have to bring up the arrears of no less than three Bengal kings, who flourished in undisturbed obscurity as far as imperialism at Dehli was concerned, and to resume the thread of the local history, severed for the time being, with the reign of 'Alá-ud-dín (p. 154).

II. SHAMS-UD-DÍN FÍRÚZ.

We gather from Ibn Batutah's chronicle, already quoted at page 146, that Shams-ud-dín Fírúz, the son of Násir-ud-dín Mahmúd *Bughrá Khán*, was reigning in Western Bengal at the period of Muhammad bin Tughlak's abortive revolt against his own father in 721–2 A.H. To his Court fled many of those faint-hearted nobles who hesitated to carry out their treason in the face of real or imaginary difficulties. Beyond this we learn but little of his power, or the prominent events of his reign; indeed, his coins alone establish the fact of his possession of Lakhnauti during the period embraced between the years 702–722, and (at some moment) of his ownership of the Eastern Province of Bengal represented by the mint of Sonárgaon. A subordinate incident is developed in the legends of the coins, that he felt himself sufficiently firm in his own power to discard the supererogatory adjuncts of descent or relationship, and relied upon the simple affirmation of his own position as *the* Sultán السلطان.

Shams-ud-dín Fírúz Sháh.

No. 166 (pl. vi. fig. 3) Silver. Weight, 168·4 grs.
Lakhnauti, A.H. 702,[1] 715, (Col. Bush) *720*, 722.

Reverse.	Obverse.
الامام	السلطان الاعظم
المستعصم	شمس الدنيا و الدين
امير المومنين	ابو المظفر فيروز شاه
	السلطان

Margin—ضرب هذالفضة بحضرت لكهنوتي سنة عشرين و [سبعماية]

No. 167. Silver. Weight, 168 grs. Unique.
Sonárgáon, A.H. ? Type as above.

III. SHAHÁB-UD-DÍN *BUGHRAH* SHÁH.

Neither history, incidental biography, nor numismatic remains avail to do more than prove the elevation, as they seem to indicate the brief and uneventful rule, of Shaháb-ud-dín, the son of Shams-ud-dín Fírúz, and grandson of the once recognized heir apparent of Balban.

The singularly limited number of the coins of this prince, confined—if the original Calcutta selections be not at fault[2]—

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[1] See also Patháu Sultáns of Hindústán, old edition, p. 37, coin dated 702 A.H. This coin was first published in 1848. I then read the date as 702 A.H. I was not at the time unversed in the decipherment of Arabic numbers, and probably from the very difficulty of placing the piece itself, I may the more rely upon the accuracy of my original interpretation. I mention this fact, as I am at present unable to refer to the coin itself.

[2] The name of this king does not appear in any of the lists contributed by Babu Rajendra Lál, who was commissioned to make a selection of the more remarkable coins from the grand total above named.

to three examples amid the 13,500 accumulated specimens of the currencies of other kings of the land over which he temporarily held sway, sufficiently mark his status in the general list of the potentates of the century in which he lived. No date or place of mintage is preserved on his extant money, and the single additional item supplied by their aid is his personal or proper name, which appears on their surfaces as بعدة; a crude outline which might suggest a doubt as to the conclusiveness of the transcription of بغرة, now confidently adopted as expressing an optional rendering of the grandfather's title of بغراخان,[1] a name which was even further distorted from the Túrki original by the conversion of the medial ر *r* into the vernacular *cerebral* ड or ڈ=ḍ. For the rest, the pieces themselves, under the mechanical test, in their make, the forms of their letters, and the tenour of their legends, evidently follow closely upon Shams-ud-dín's mintages, and as clearly precede the money of the same locality, issued by Ghiás-ud-dín *Bahádur Sháh*, who, in 724 A.H., drove this, his own brother, Shaháb-ud-dín, to take refuge with *the* Sultán, Ghiás-ud-dín Tughlak Sháh. Bahádur's career has yet to be told in connexion with his own coins; but to dispose of Shaháb-ud-dín,[2] as far as the exercise of his mint prerogatives are concerned, he seems to have abdicated any such rights from the date when he claimed the aid of his

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[1] The ancient name of طنغاج بغراخان of Bokhára notoriety in 350 A.H. (Fræhn Recensio Numorum Muhammadanorum, pp. 139, 593, 578), was subjected to strange mutations on Indian soil. My authority for the substitution of the final ة in place of the vowel ا is derived from Ibn Batutan, who uniformly writes the word with an ة (iii. 231–5, 293). Ferishtah (*text*, p. 131) has بقرا, whence Stewart's *Bagora* (p. 74). Dow gave the name as *Kera*, and Briggs as *Kurra* (i. pp. 265, 270, etc.).

[2] Those who delight in interesting coincidences might see, in this name of Shaháb-ud-dín, a most tempting opportunity for associating him with a really important record by the Indigènes themselves, inscribed on a stone slab in the

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fort of Chunár, setting forth their victory over a "*Malik*" hahâb-ud-dín, quoted as acting under Muhammad bin Tughlak, in Samvat 1390 (A.H. 734); but I confess I do not myself encourage the identification. Chunár is certainly not out of the range of access from Bengal; but other men of mark may have filled this command, and the name of the fortress itself is never heard of in reference to the affairs of the kingdom of Lakhnauti, in those early days, though the main road of communication between the two capitals of the north and the south took its course through Badáon or Kanauj and Jaunpore. The inscription is otherwise well worthy of further examination, in as far as it concerns the history of imperial influence upon proximate localities; and as such I transcribe both the text and Dr. Mills's translation of the brief passages which chance to illustrate the general subject.

Verse 5:

सहाबदीनादिदुष्टात्मयवनेन्द्रमहम्मदा ।
सैराजो मि[लितोऽम]ात्यो वैरिणापि कृपानिधिः ॥

"By Muhammad, lord of the hostile Yavanas Shaháb-ud-dín and the rest, though an enemy, was Sairája, the treasure of benignity, employed as prime minister."

Verse 11:

संवत् १३९० भाद्रपदि ५ गुरौ सैराजदेवनश्वर
णागतमलिकसहाबदीनरचितं ॥

"Samvat 1390, in the month of Bhadra, fifth day of the waning moon, on Thursday, was the kingdom set free from Malik Shaháb-ud-dín, acting under the protecting favour of Sairája Deva aforesaid."

—(See Journal As. Soc. Bengal, vol. v., 1836, p. 341.)

There were several *Shahdb-ud-dins*, men of prominence in these days. Among the rest ملک شهاب الدین سلطانے تاج الملک at the Court of Tughlak Sháh (Ziá Barni, text, p. 424). Subsequently described as نصرتخان ملک شهاب الدین سلطانے (p. 454) in the official lists of Muhammad bin Tughlak's nobles, and mentioned by Ferishtah as having been invested with the *Jdgir* of Núsári (text, i. p. 238; Briggs, i. p. 412). *Núsdri*, if it is correctly placed in 73° 1′—21° 0′, would scarcely, however, associate his scene of action with Chunár (83°—25° 5′). Later in point of time, there was a Shaháb-ud-dín, *Multdni*, who was entitled *Nasrat Khdn*, and entrusted with the charge of Bidr in A.H. 742 (Ferishtah, i. 424), and who very shortly rebelled against his lord (Elliot's Historians, iii. 247).

Suzerain; and though Ziá Barni[1] affirms that he was eventually reinstated in his dominion, it is not clear under what terms and conditions he was permitted to hold his delegated rank

Shaháb-ud-dín Bughrah Sháh.

No. 168 (pl. vi. fig. 4). Silver. Weight, 168·5 grs.

Mint (illegible). Two coins only, Col. Guthrie.

Type as usual.

OBVERSE.	REVERSE.
السلـــطـــان الاعظم	الامـــــــــام
شمس الدنيا و الدين	المستعـــــصم
ابو المظفر بغده شاه	امير المومنين
السلطان بن سلطان	

Margin, (remainder illegible) ضرب هذالـــ

IV. BAHÁDUR SHÁH.

The single point in the biography of Bahádur Sháh which remains at all obscure is the date of his first attaining power. Ibn Batutah records, with sufficient distinctness, that he con-

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[1] و سلطان ناصر [شهاب] الدين ضابط لكهنوتي را . . چتر و دورباش اد، و لكهنوتي بدو حوالت فرمود و باز فرستاد و ستكانو و سناركانو ضابط شد Calcutta text, p. 451.

و تغلق شاه ناصر [شهاب] الدين‌را چتر داده بطريق زمان سابق لكهنوتي را باقطاعش مقرر داشت و نيز محافظت سناركانو و كور بنكاله باو رجوع كرد Ferishtah, Bombay text, p. 234.

Briggs's version differs materially from the original text (i. 406).

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quered and set aside his regnant brother *Shabáb-ud-dín*, at some time prior to Ghiás-ud-dín Tughlak's reassertion of the ancient suzerainty of Dehli over the lightly-held allegiance of Bengal, and his eventual carrying away captive the offending Bahádur, who was, however, soon to be released and restored with added honours,[1] by Muhammad bin Tughlak, shortly after his own accession. Indian home-authors, who so rarely refer to the affairs of the Gangetic delta, give vague intimations of the first appointment of Bahádur to Eastern Bengal by 'Alá-ud-dín Muhammad in A.H. 709,[2] assigning to him an inconceivable interval of placid repose until A.H. 717, when he is stated to have broken out into the turbulent self-assertion for which he was afterwards so celebrated. But, as we have seen how manifestly wrong the Court chroniclers were in the matter of Násir-ud-dín's prolonged reign, we may freely accept Ibn Batutah's statement as the most readily reconcilable with probabilities, and the demands of the, up to this time legible, dates on the coins which Bahádur put into circulation in Bengal. I might have some doubt as to the conclusiveness of the reading of the date 710 on his money in the Kooch Bahár *trouvaille*, but I have none as to the clear expression of A.H. 711 and 712, though the singular break occurring between 712 (or 714) and 720 suggests a suspicion of an originally imperfect die-rendering of the عشر = 10 for عشرين = 20,[3] which would bring the corrected range of Bahádur's dates to 720–724; but even these figures leave something to be reconciled in reference to their associate places of mintage, for in 720–722, his father, Shams-ud-dín Fírúz, was clearly in possession of the already commemorated "*Lakhnauti*;" but such an anomaly might be explained by the supposition that Bahádur, in the earlier days, used the name of *Lakhnauti* as a geographical expression for a portion of the dominions ordinarily administered from that capital. Undoubtedly the first appearance of the contrasted designation of the eastern capital, "Sonárgáon," occurs on the coinage of his father; but even this sign of discrimination of urban issues would not be altogether opposed to a continuance by Bahádur of the loose usage of Camp Mints, of naming the metropolis as the general term for the division at large, or inconsistent with the subsidiary legitimate employment of the designation of the province on a coinage effected anywhere within its own-boundaries,—either of which simple causes may have prevailed, and been utilized with a new motive, if any covert ulterior meaning chanced to be designed, as implying that Bahádur himself had special successional or other claims to the metropolitan districts.

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[1] چون سلطان بهادر سنارکامي را بملک اوده رخصت کرد انچه زر نقد در خزانه بود بیکبار در انعام او داد Tabakát-i-Akbari.

See also Ziá Barni, printed edition, p. 461.

[2] Stewart, p. 75; Ferishtah (Briggs), i. 406.

[3] Among more critical Arabic scholars than the Bengal mint masters ever affected to be, this point would have been easily determined by the insertion or

Tughlak Sháh's intervention in the affairs of Bengal seems to have originated in an appeal on the part of the ejected Shaháb-ud-dín against the usurpation of his brother Bahádur. The result of the Imperial expedition to the south was the defeat, capture, and transport to Dehli of Bahádur Sháh; but among the first acts of the new Sultán, Muhammad bin Tughlak, was the release and re-installation of the offender, showing clearly that he was something more than an ordi-

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omission of the conjunction و *vau*, which, as a rule, is required to couple the *units* and the *twenties*, but is not used with the *units* and *tens*.

nary local governor, transferable at will, and that possibly the interests of the Imperial father and son, in their newly established dynastic rank, and the confessed insubordination of the latter, were independently advocated by the opposing members of the royal line of Bengal, whose family tree could show so much more ancient a series of regal successions than their parvenu Suzerains, whose elevation dated scarce five years back. One of the most interesting illustrations of the present series is contributed by coin No. 186. in the legends of which Bahádur acknowledges the supremacy of Muhammad bin Tughlak over Eastern Bengal during A.H. 728.[1] The subjection seems, however, to have been of brief duration, as, sometime in or after the year A.H. 730, Bahádur appears to have reverted to an independent coinage, in a new capital called after his own title *Ghiáspúr* (coin No. 170), and in A.H. 733 Muhammad bin Tughlak is found issuing his own coin in Bengal, and Bahádur, defeated and put to death, contributed an example to insurgent governors in his own skin, which was stuffed and paraded through the provinces of the empire.

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[1] Ibn Batutah gives the following additional particulars of Bahádur's re-installation :—“ Il [Muhammad bin Tughlak] lui fit de nombreux cadeaux en argent, chevaux, éléphants, et le renvoya dans son royaume. Il expédia avec lui le fils de son frère, Ibráhím Khán; il convint avec Behádour Bourah qu'ils posséderaient ledit royaume par égales moitiés; que leurs noms figureraient ensemble sur les monnaies; que la prière serait faite en leur nom commun, et que Ghiyâth eddîn enverrait son fils Mohammed dit Berbath (برباط), comme otage près du souverain de l'Inde. Ghiyâth eddîn partit, et observa toutes les promesses qu'il avait faites ; seulement il n'envoya pas son fils, comme il avait été stipulé. Il prétendit que ce dernier s'y était refusé, et, dans son discours, il blessa les convenances. Le souverain de l'Inde fit marcher au secours du fils de son frère, Ibráhím Khán, des troupes dont le commandant était Doldjí attatary (دُلجي التتري). Elles combattirent Ghiyâth eddîn et le tuèrent; elles le dépouillèrent de sa peau, qu'on rembourra de paille, et qu'on promena ensuite dans les provinces.”—Vol. iii. p. 316.

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Bahádur Sháh.

No. 169. Silver. Size, vii. to viii. Weight, ordinarily, 166 grs.; one example is as high as 167·5 grs. Rare. Lakhnauti, A.H. 710,? *711*, 712, 7–3, 7–4[1] (*break*), 720, 721, 722.

OBVERSE.	REVERSE.
السلطان الاعظم	الامام
غياث الدنيا والدين	المستعصم
ابو المظفر بهادر شاه	امير المومنين
السلطان بن سلطان	

Margin—صرب هذالفضة بحضرت لكهنوتي سنة احد عشر وسبعماية

No. 170 (pl. vi. fig. 5). Silver. Weight, 166 and 164·5 grs. Very rare. Two coins. Col. Guthrie. Second mint, Ghíáspúr, Date, *730*.

Margin—* هذالسكة قصبه غياثپور سنة ثلاثين *

I have reserved for its more appropriate place among Muhammad bin Tughlak's own series of silver pieces the remarkable medal struck by Bahádur Sháh in honour of his Suzerain in A.H. 728 (No. 186, p. 215).

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[1] The dates 7–3, 7–4, may, perchance, be obliterated records of 723, 724. I have placed them among the lower figures, but I have no sanction for retaining them in that position.

NINETEENTH KING (A.H. 725-752; A.D. 1324-1351).

The destinies of India were surrendered for twenty-seven years to the eccentric domination of Muhammad bin Tughlak, a man of mark apart from his kingship—generous to profusion, an accomplished scholar, abstinent, a stern defender of his faith, and the most experienced general of his day. Against these many merits had to be set a determination which hesitated at no means in the compassing of his own ends—a ferocity possibly inherited from the desert tribes, which could conceive no punishment effectual but death, combined with a perversion of intellect which induced him to allow despotism to run into insane fury at any sign of opposition to his will. His mind was cast to know no mercy or compassion as a judge, and he was led to carry out his best intentioned measures with an utter disregard of human suffering, as instanced in the transportation, in some cases with brutal violence, of the inoffensive citizens of Dehli, *en masse*, for the mere purpose of filling his newly created city of Deogír;[1] or the extermination of whole tribes as if they had been vermin, whose single hope of salvation, in this world, was the profession of Islám.

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[1] The following account of Ibn Batutah, who was in part an eye-witness of the transactions referred to, will give some idea of the horrors perpetrated in carrying out this edict:—"The Sultán ordered all the inhabitants to quit the place; and upon some delay being evinced, he made a proclamation, stating that what person soever, being an inhabitant of that city, should be found in any of its houses or streets, should receive condign punishment. Upon this they all went out; but his servants finding a blind man in one of the houses and a bedridden one in another, the Emperor commanded the bedridden man to be projected from a balista, and the blind one to be dragged by his feet to Daulatábád, which is at the distance of ten days, and he was so dragged; but his limbs dropping off by the way, only one of his legs was brought to the place intended, and was then thrown into it; for the order had been that they should go to this place. When I entered Dehli it was almost a desert." "Its buildings were very few; in other

In the early portion of his reign he held in full subjection an empire far more magnificent than had been given to any of his predecessors: circumstances, however, were adverse to the permanence of his power. The dominion covering twenty-three provinces,[1] or independent nationalities, became, in the

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respects it was quite empty."—Dr. Lees's edition, Oriental Trans. Fund, p. 144. French edition, iii. p. 315

[1] Siradj-eddin Abu'lfatah Omar, natif de la province de Oud عوض, qui avait vécu à la cour du Sultan de Dehli; nous apprend que les états de ce monarque se composaient de vingt-trois provinces principales, savoir.

1.	Dehli	دهلي	اقليم	13.	Badaon	بداون	اقليم
2.	Deogír	ديوگير	,,	14.	Oude	عوض	,,
3.	Multán	الملتان	,,	15.	Kanauj	القنوج	,,
4.	Kohram	كهرام	,,	16.	Laknauti	لكنوتي	,,
5.	Samanah	سامانه	,,	17.	Bihár	بهار.	,,
6.	Siwistán (Sehwán)	سوستان	,,	18..	Karrah	كره	,,
7.	Uchh	اوجه	,,	19.	Malwa	ملاوه	,,
8.	Hansi	هانسي	,,	20.	Láhor	لهاور	,,
9.	Sirsati	سرستي	,,	21.	Kalánúr	كلانور	,,
10.	Malabár	المعبر	,,	22.	Jájnagar	جاجنكر	,,
11.	Telinga	تلنگ	,,	23.	Telinga ?	تلنج	,,
12.	Gujerát	كجرات	,,	24.	Dwara Samanda	دورسمند	,,

—Not. et Ext. xiii. p. 170. **Ziá Barni's** list is less complete.

1.	دهلى	7.	دهورسمندر
2.	گجرات	8.	معبر
3.	مالوه	9.	ترهت
4.	ديوگير	10.	لكهنوتي
5.	تلنگ	11.	ستكانو
6.	كنپله	12.	سناركانو

-Ziá Barni, pp. 467, 473, Calcutta text.

The author of the Masálik ul Absár, in another part of his work, while very number of its sections, essentially incoherent. Local feudatories had of late been superseded by governors appointed by the head of the State, and the selection of fitting and trustworthy representatives was attended by far greater risks than of old, now that the national bond, so effective among the ruling classes under the dynasty of the Túrks, had disappeared amid the dissensions of Túrk and Khiljí,

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speaking of his means of obtaining information upon Indian matters, remarks :—"Des voyageurs de notre pays (Egypte) se rendent continuellement dans l'Inde; aussi sommes-nous parfaitement instruits de ce qui se passe dans cette contrée" (p. 202). It must be remembered, also, that these data must have been committed to writing within a very brief interval after the return of the several contributors, as the compiler of the Masálik ul Absár died about the same time as Muhammad bin Tughlak himself (that is to say, in A.H. 749, or, at latest, 752). His informants seem to have been very favourably impressed with the high standard of civilization existing in Dehli, one of whom deposes, "les habitants de Dehli se distinguent par leur esprit et leur intelligence, la sagesse de leurs réflexions, la netteté de leurs idées. Ils s'expriment avec élégance en langue persane et en langue indienne" (p. 217). But the most distinct test of their cultivation is afforded by the accomplishments of the women. of whom the Africans speak with great admiration. The author continues—"Je demandai à chacun de ces voyageurs, en particulier, comment une esclave femelle pouvait atteindre cette valeur (20,000 *tankah* ou même davantage), dans un pays où tout était à si bon marché; chacun me répondit que cette différence tenait à ce que ces jeunes filles se distinguaient par la beauté de leurs formes et la grâce de leurs manières; que pour la plupart, elles possèdent l'Alcoran, savent écrire, récitent des vers, des histoires, excellent dans la musique vocale, savant pincer du luth, jouer aux échecs et aux dés. Ces jeunes esclaves sont toutes fières de réunir ces qualités brillantes. . . . Les femmes de l'Inde, sous le rapport de la beauté, l'emportent sur celles de Turquie et du Kaptchak; en outre, elles se distinguent par une grande instruction et une extrême variété de talents" (p. 200). In a later stage of progress, India's "greatest king," Akbar, equally confessed the supremacy of female rule, in persons alien to his own faith, who not only declined to study the Kurán, but coerced the mighty monarch into the acceptance of portions of their own creed, as one of his own biographers remarks: "The Emperor was subject to the influence of the numerous Hindu princesses of the Harem, who had gained so great an ascendancy over him as to make him forswear beef, garlic, onions, and the wearing of a beard, which things His Majesty still avoids."—Badáoni, quoted by Blochmann, Áin-i-Akbari, p. 193.

both of whom had henceforth to bow to an alien Sultán of curiously mixed breed. In the Muhammadan distrust of unconverted Hindús, all manner of foreign adventurers were installed in divisional posts;[1] these men having little or no interest in the stability of the throne, were ever ready to aid any projected rising, or to join with their combined forces any of the more influential rebels. So that the annals of the period present a mere succession of outbreaks,—no sooner was one section of the empire brought back to its allegiance than another division would seek to assert its independence.

The Sultán was often obliged to command his own armies; and though he was usually victorious, the very fact of his absence in distant parts encouraged the disaffected elsewhere. The old proverb. "Dehli is distant,"[2] found a new application; the royal forces were often less near to the threatened point than the inconveniently situated capital itself, whose distance from the Southern States had already suggested its supercession by the more central Deogír. A parallel obstacle to the permanent subjection of the provinces was to be found in the state of the roads and the general insecurity of the country at large, evils that extended to such an extreme that the tribute of the south was allowed to accumulate at Deogír, merely because it was found impossible to transport it to Dehli, and eventually the whole treasure was divided on the spot among some temporarily successful insurgents.[1]

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[1] The majority of these mercenaries seem to have been Khorasánis, whom Muhammad bin Tughlak had collected to aid in his contemplated conquest of their own country. Ibn Batutah remarks incidentally that the people of Dehli called all Asiatic or African strangers indiscriminately "Khorasánis" (iii. 229). Mughals were also engaged in large numbers, so that, on the Sultan's death, this section of his army, compact in its nationality, at once proceeded to harass and plunder the now ill-commanded force to which they were attached.—Elliot's Historians, edition 1849, p. 324; new edition, vol. iii. pp. 251, 266.

[2] دهلي دور است "It is a far cry to Lochow."—Rob Roy.

The end of such a state of things might easily be predicted. The Bengal Mints occupied themselves in coining money for independent rulers; the Sultán's early triumph, Warangol, reverted to its ancient name in the hands of other masters; Deogír, his chosen capital, submitted to Hasan Gungo, the founder of a new race of kings, the Bahmani dynasty of Kalbarga, who were destined to play a prominent part in the destinies of the country; and, finally, the owner of so many kingdoms died, miserably, of a fever, near Thatta, on the lower Indus, with his army "like ants or locusts" around him; and his cousin and successor found some difficulty in getting safe home to the cherished Dehli, Muhammad bin Tughlak had once done so much to desolate and destroy.

It is, however, in his rôle as a Prince of Moneyers that Muhammad bin Tughlak claims our peculiar attention. His mintages are instructive both in the novelty and variety of their types, admirable in the artistic perfection of their design and execution, and especially significant in their reflex of the individuality of the Monarch himself, marking, as they do, the various phases of his career—his early wealth and reckless profusion, its resulting poverty, which he attempted to meet by a forced currency, and equally his ready return to money payments on its ascertained failure. Next in order, they exemplify the doubts and difficulties concerning his own title to the throne, unconfirmed as it was by Pontifical authority, which he remedied by the curious process of the omission of his own name and the substitution of that of an Egyptian scion of the house of Abbás, who, as chance would have it, was already in his grave. So important, indeed, did he consider all matters connected with the public currency that one of the earliest acts of his reign was to remodel the coinage, to readjust its divisions to the altered relative values of the precious metals, and to originate new and more exact representatives of the subordinate circulation. These innovations will be noticed in detail in connexion with the representative monetary specimens in as much of consecutive order as the materials admit.

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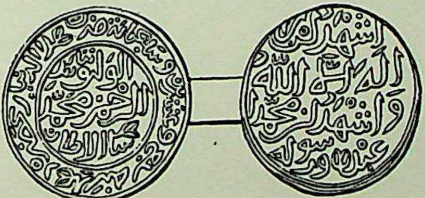
[1] On another occasion (745 A.H.) the tribute of Gujarát, with the horses for the royal stables and a large convoy of merchandize, was plundered by the foreign Amírs at Baroda, the proceeds of which enabled them to organize a serious insurrection.

Muhammad bin Tughlak.

No. 171. *Gold.* Weight, 198·5 grs.; highest weight of other available specimens, 199 grs. (See also Marsden, DCCXIV). DEHLI, AH. 725, 726, 727.



Circular area.

الواثق بتائيد

الرحمن محمد

شاه السلطان

Margin—

ضرب هذاالدينار بحضرة دهلي

سنه سبع و عشرين و سبعمائة

اشهد ان لا

اله الاالله

واشهد ان محمدا

عبده ورسوله

"I testify that there is no god but God, and I testify that Muhammad is his servant and apostle."[1]

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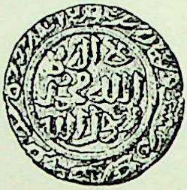
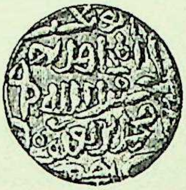
[1] This is the اَذان *ázán* or call to prayer, usually chanted from the turret of

No. 172. *Gold.* Weight, 167·3 grs. *Unique* in gold. Colonel Guthrie. DÁR UL ISLÁM, A.H. 727.





Circulaı area.

لاالــــــه الا

الـــله محمد

رسول الـــــه

Margin—

ضرب هذه السكه بدار الاسلام

في سنة سبع وعشرين وسبعماية

ابوبكر

المجاهد فـي

سبيل اللـــه

محمد بن تغلق شاه

The warrior in the cause of God,[1]
Muhammad bin Tughlak Sháh.
Abubakr, 'Umar, 'Usmán, 'Ali.

---

the mosque. اللهُ اَكْبَر (four times), اَشْهَدُ اَنْ لَا اِلٰهَ اِلَّا اللّٰه (twice), اَشْهَدُ اَنَّ مُحَمَّدًا رَسُولُ اللّٰه (twice).—Lane, Arabic Dict., *sub voce.*

Marsden, usually so cautious in his criticisms, and who had gone through a very severe training in Kufic palæography in the various introductory series he was called upon to decipher, proved altogether at fault when he came to encounter the free flow of superior Kurán MS. caligraphy which Muhammad bin Tughlak had suddenly brought to such perfection in these mint dies.—Num. Orient. 534.

[1] See Ziá Barni, Persian text, p. 196; Elliot's Historians, iii. p. 143; Ibn Batutah, iii. 215.

Fírúz Sháh *Khilji* had coveted this particular title, and condescended to engage in a secondary intrigue in order to obtain it, as a presumedly voluntary offering on the part of the local heads of the creed; but on their too ready compliance with his wishes, he discovered scruples as to the sufficiency of his own claims to any such distinction.

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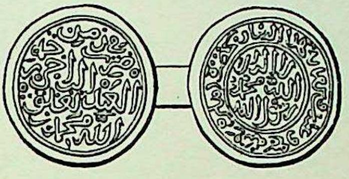
No. 173. *Gold.* Weight, 198·5 (198, 197·3, 197·3). A most perfect coin. Colonel Guthrie. DEHLI, A.H. *727*, 728, 729. (See also another specimen engraved in pl. iii. fig. 83.)



Obverse—ضرب في زمن العبد الراجي رحمة الله محمد بن تغلق

Reverse—Circular area. *The Kalimah.*

Margin—هذاالدينار بحضرة دهلي في سنة سبع و عشرين و سبعماية

No. 174. A specimen of this class of money, in the collection of Col. Stacey, now in the Museum of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (in weight 199 grs.), struck at DEOGÍR, in A.H. *727*, has the following exceptional marginal legend :—

هذاالدينار فى قبه دين اسلام اعني حضرة ديوگير ۷۲۷

See also M. Soret's coin, No. XIX. of my Supplement, Num. Chron. 1852, xv. p. 129.

Deogír or Daulatábád was specially designated at this period by the prefix of قبةالاسلام. Masálik al Abṣár, Notices et Extr. xiii p. 210.[1]

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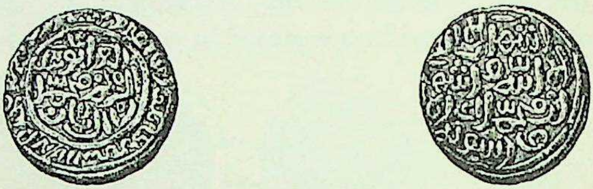
[1] Au rapport du scheïkh Moubarak, le royaume de l'Inde a pour capitale la ville de Dehli. Ensuite vient la ville de Dewakir, qui fut fondée par le Sultán de cet empire, et nommée par lui قبةالاسلام *la métropole de l'islamisme.* Cette place, ajoute le scheïkh, est située dans le troisième climat. Lorsque je l'ai quittée, il y a six ans, les constructions n'étaient point achevées; et je doute qu'aujourd'hui elles soient terminées, à raison de l'immense étendue de son enceinte, et du nombre prodigieux d'édifices qu'elle devait renfermer. Le prince l'avait divisée en quartiers, dont chacun était destiné à des hommes d'une même profession. On distinguait le quartier des troupes, celui des vizirs et des écrivains, celui des kadis et des savants, celui des scheïkhs et des fakirs, celui des marchands et de ceux qui exercent des états lucratifs. Chaque quartier devait renfermer tout ce qui

No. 175. Gold. Weight, 170 grs. **Sultánpúr** (Warangol),[1] A.H. 729. Very rare. Col. Guthrie.



الواثق بتائيد
الرحمن محمد
شاه السلطان

Margin—
ضرب هذاالدينار بشهر سلطانپور
سنه تسعه و عشرين و سبعمايه

اشهد ان لااله
الاالله و اشهد
ان محمدا عبده
ورسوله

pouvait suffire à tous les besoins, les mosquées, les minarets, les marchés, les bains, les moulins, les fours, et les artisans de tout genre, jusqu' aux forgerons, aux teinturiers, aux corroyeurs; en sorte que les habitants n'eussent aucun besoin de recourir à d'autres pour leurs ventes, leurs achats et les autres nécessités de la vie; et que chacun de ces quartiers formât comme une ville séparée, entièrement indépendante de celles qui l'avoisinaient.—Not. et Ext. xiii. p. 172.

See also Ibn Batutah, iii. 182, 191; iv. 46–51. The revenue of the province is incidentally stated to have been farmed at 17 *krors* of *tourkahs*, p. 49. Dr. Lees's Translation, p. 163.

"If the visitor passes his eye over the modern town of Rozah (which occupies merely a small part of the site of the vast old city), he will see in the distance the fortress of Daulatábád: all the intervening plain for about six miles must have been covered with buildings of the old city. The ancient reservoir of the city, called *Ganj Ráwan Sálah*, or the *Pari Taláo*, is situated about two miles S.W. of Rozah. The site of this old city, and perhaps its traditional history, must have pleased Muhammad bin Tughlak, who twice attempted to force the population of Dehli to remove to it. The mint or Tanksál of this king was close to the Pari Taláo. In this mint were coined the mohurs and rupees that formed the fictitious currency, specimens of which are frequently turned up by the plough of the modern cultivator."—Col. Tremlow, Jour. Bombay Branch, R.A.S. 1853, p. 376

[1] See p. 188, *ante*. Lat. 17° 58′, long. 79° 40′.—Grant Duff, i. 47.

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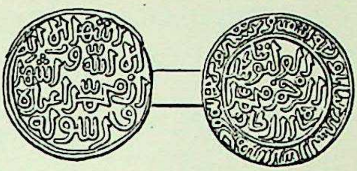
No. 175*a*. Gold. Weight, 170 grs. Sultánpúr, A.H. 729. Col. Guthrie.



Legends identical with those on No. 175.

No. 176 (pl. iii. fig. 84, and Marsden, DCCXVI.). *Gold.* Weight, 169·3 grs. DEHLI, A.H. 727, 733, *736*.

Circular area.

في عهد

محمد بن

تغلق

Margin—بحضرة دهلي سنة

ست وثلثين وسبعماية

والله

الغني وانتم

الفقراء

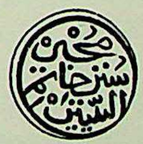
"Deus est dives; vos autem indigi estis."[1]

No. 177. Gold. Weight. 99·0 grs. Unique. Mr. E. C. Bayley.[2]

محمد

بن

تلغق شاه



محيى

سنن خاتم

النبيين

"Defender of the laws of the last of the Prophets."

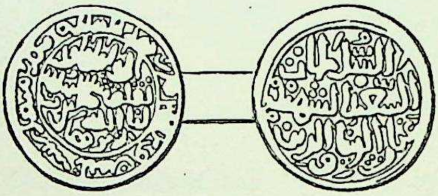
---

[1] Kurán. Surah 35, 15—يا ايها الناس انتم الفقرآء الى الله هو الغنى الحميد "Oh men, ye have need of God; but God is self-sufficient, and to be praised."—Sale. Fræhn. p. 177. De Sacy, J. des S. 1827, p. 277.

[2] I regret to say that this valuable coin has been lost. It was made over to Mr. Basire some years ago to be engraved, but it was abstracted from his drawers, with many other choice specimens from Mr. Bayley's collection. I myself outlined the above woodcut from the original coin, and published it at Dehli in 1851.

Coin struck in memory of his Father.

No. 178. *Gold.* Weight, 245 grs. (A worn coin.) *Unique.*
Col. Guthrie. A.H. 73–.



	Circular area.
السلطان	ابو المظفر
السعيد الشهيد	تغلق شاه السلطان
غياث الدنيا و الدين	انار الله برهان
	Margin— . . ضرب هذالسكه
	سنة . . ثاثين و سبعماية

This is a most interesting coin, seemingly struck by Muhammad bin Tughlak, in one of his eccentric moods, in memory of his father. There is nothing definite in the legends to prove this assignment except the *decimal* in the date, which might be questioned in the imperfect marginal legend, but which is sufficiently clear on the original piece, though scarcely legible in the English engraving. The type of the coin, which was only introduced by the son, takes it out of the category of the mintages of the father, and the exaggerated weight equally points to an exceptional issue, a coincidence in which the piece accords with the posthumous medals of Muhammad bin Sám (No. 19, *suprà*). But the crucial test of the date of the coin consists in the superiority of the caligraphy and the improvement in the die execution initiated by Muhammad bin Tughlak.[1]

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[1] No. 178*a*. I have a *Purána* piece (in weight, 51 grains) of fine silver, which seems equally due to a later period than the reign of Tughlak Sháh. The legends themselves are similar to, but not identical with, those of the gold coin, No. 178;

No. 179. Gold. Weight, 169 grs. Unique. Gen. T. P. Smith.
A.H. 739.

Obverse—ضرب في زمن العبد الراجي رحمة الله محمد بن

Reverse—السلطان السعيد الشهيد تغلق شاه سنه تسع و ثلثين وسبعمايه

SILVER COINS.

No. 180 (pl. iii. fig. 87). Silver. *'Adali.* Weight, 140 grs.
DEHLI, A.H. *725*, 726.

اشهدان لا	الواثق بتائيد
اله الاالله	الرحمن محمد
واشهد ان محمّداً	شاه السلطان
عبده ورسوله	Margin—
	ضرب هذا العدلي بحضرة دهلي
	سنه خمس و عشرين و سبعماية

No. 181. Silver. *'Adali.* Weight, 138 grs. A.H. 727. *Unique.* Dehli Archæological Society's collection. Similar legends, but the form of this specimen is changed in shape from the usual broad pieces into a thick and narrow coin, like No. 88, pl. iii.

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but the superior metal, the form of the piece, and especially the fashioning of the letters, associate it with the issues of Muhammad bin Tughlak. The legend runs—

Obv. — . . . . السلطان السيد الشهيد الغازي غياث الدنيا

ابو المظفر تغلق شاه السلطان انار الله برهانه ۷۳۴

The date is nearly obliterated, but the most important figure, the ۳, seems to be positive.

No. 182 (pl. iii. fig. 88). Silver (largely alloyed). Weight, 140 grs.[1]
A.H. *728*, 729, 730.

ضرب
في زمن العبد
الراجى رحمة
الله محمد
بن

السلطان
السعيد الشهيد
تغلق شاه سنه
ثمان و عشرين
وسبعمايه

No. 183. Silver and copper. Weight, 140 grs. A.H. 732.
Unique. Mr. E. C. Bayley.

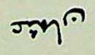
Coin similar in its form and the details of its legends to No. 182.

No. 184 (pl. iii. fig. 90). Silver. Weight, 168·5 grs. B.M.
A.H. 730.

ابوبكر

المجاهد فى
سبيل الله

محمد بن تغلق شاه



لااله الا
الله محمد
رسول الله

Margin—. . ضرب هذه السكه
في سنه ثلثين و سبعمايه

No. 185. Silver. Weight, 168·0 grs. Satgaon, A.H. 730.
Areas as above.

Margin—ضرب هذه السكه بستكانو في سنه ثلثين و سبعمايه

Coin struck by Bahádur Sháh of Bengal in the name of Muhammad bin Tughlak (referred to at p. 201 *suprà*).

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[1] Average weight of eight selected specimens, 139·6 grains; highest weight observed, 140 grains. The less carefully executed coins of 730 A.H. range as high as 140·3 grains, but these pieces are more largely alloyed with copper, so that their weight need not have been so much cared for.

No. 186. **Silver.** **Weight, 140 grs.** **Sonárgaon, A.H. 728.** *Unique.*
Dehli Archæological Society.

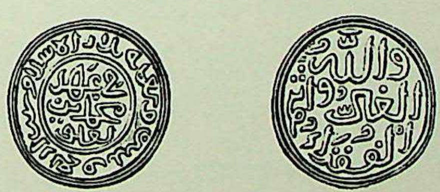
Obverse Area, ضرب بامر الواثق بالله محمد بن تغلق شاه
Margin, هده السكه بحضرة سناركانو سنه ثمان و عشرين و سبعمايه

Reverse—السلطان المعظم غياث الدنيا و الدين ابو المظفر بهادر شاه السلطان ابن السلطان

No. 187 (pl. vi. fig. 6). Silver. Weight, 168·5 grs.
Lakhnauti, A.H. 733 Areas as in No. 184.

Margin—ضرب هذه الفضة بشهر لكهنوتي سنه ثلاث و ثلثين وسبعمايه

No. 188. Silver. Weight, 168 grs. Unique.[1] (My cabinet.)
Dár-ul-Islám, A.H. 734.



والله	في عهد
الغنى وانتم	محمد بن
الفقراء	تغلق

Margin—بدار الاسلام سنه اربع و ثلثين و سبعمايه

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[1] Similar to gold coin No. 176 *suprà*; pl. iii. fig. 84; and Marsden, DCCXVI.

SMALL COINS. SILVER.

No. 189 (pl. iii. fig. 91). Silver. Weight, 56 grs. A.H. *726*, 727.

Obverse—السلطان العادل

Reverse—محمد بن تغلق شاه ٧٢٦

No. 190. Silver. Weight, 52 grs. A.H. 725.

Obverse—المجاهد في سبيل الله

Reverse—محمد بن تغلق شاه ٧٢٥

No. 191. Silver. Weight, 52 grs. A.H. 730. Col. Stacey.

Obverse—ابو الفتح بنصر الله

Reverse—محمد بن تغلق شاه ٧٣٠

No. 192. Silver. Weight, 51 grs. A.H. *727*, 732.

Obverse—في زمن السلطان العادل محمد بن تغلقشاه

Reverse—دامت سلطنته في سنه سبع و عشرين و سبعمايه

No. 193 (pl. iii fig. 93). Silver. Weight, 55 grs. A.H. *732*, 733, 734, 735, 736, 738, 739; in copper, 732; in brass, 733.

Obverse—الملك و العظمة لله

"Dominion and greatness are of God."

Reverse—عبد الراجي محمد تغلق ٧٣٢

No. 194. Silver. Weight, 51·5 grs. A.H. 727, 730, *733*, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738.

Obverse—الراجي رحمة الله الكريم

Reverse—محمد بن تغلق سنه ثلث و ثلثين و سبعماية

MUHAMMAD BIN TUGHLAK'S CURRENCIES.

This may be the fittest opportunity of adverting to the change effected in the national coinage of India between the epoch of the first establishment of the Muhammadan mints under Altamsh and the reforms introduced by Muhammad bin Tughlak. It is a curious but readily explicable fact that all attempts to discover, from the writings of indigenous authors, the authoritative scheme or the relative values of the local coinage have hitherto proved futile. The contemporary writers necessarily spoke of things around them as matters of course, regarding which no details or explanations were required; they mentioned from time to time the various coins of the realm, but only in general terms with reference to prices, payments or gifts, without defining the current interchangeable rates of the several coins thus adverted to. The later Indian historians seem themselves to have had a difficulty in fixing and determining the system of money values obtaining in earlier times, and it was left for chance travellers, like Ibn Batutah, to supply many important specifications of the current rates of exchange, which could not be gathered from home sources; but a still more communicative visitor to the Court of Dehli at the same period has left upon record a full and complete epitome of the various descriptions of money employed in Hindustán.

The narrative of Shaikh Mubárak bin Mahmúd *Anbati*, the traveller in question, has been incorporated in an Egyptian work entitled (مسالك الابصار) *Masálik al Abṣár*,[1] a *unique* MS. of which is to be found in the Imperial Library at Paris. The contents of this MS. have been examined and copiously abstracted by M. Quatremère in vol. xiii. of the Notices et Extraits (p. 51, *et seq.*). It is from this excellent article that I derive the information which I have thrown into the subjoined tabular form. The statements now contributed are not only very complete in themselves, but are so consistent with the numismatic data, that I accept them unhesitatingly as setting at rest many necessarily crude speculations wherewith I formerly attempted to arrive at a solution of the problem,—conjectures based primarily upon the weights and intrinsic contents of the coins themselves, aided by the very imperfect light our native authors had chanced to throw upon the inquiry.[1] There is one point that it is necessary to bear in mind in regard to the statements of Shaikh Mubárak, which is, that they refer to the latter portion of the reign of Muhammad Tughlak, and illustrate a somewhat complicated and transitional stage of the currency, more especially in the matter of the double silver standard created by the Sultán's introduction of the new *'adali* of 140 grains, which he himself seems to have again superseded by the approximate weight of the old *tankah*, in his silver money of 734 A.H.

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[1] The compiler of this work also quotes, among his other authorities, Siráj-ud-dín Abul'fath Omar of *Oudh*.

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[1] My first impression, in 1847, led me to say that the *káṇi* was probably the *jital* of Ferishtah (Pathán Ṣultáns, 1st edit., p. 61), and so it has proved, though the statements of the earlier native authorities had cast a doubt upon Ferishtah's accuracy, which his own confession of ignorance as to the nature of the *jital* itself was not calculated to remove. The original passage is quoted from Briggs's Translation at p. 158, *suprà*. "As the spoken languages of the Peninsula enabled us to restore the true meaning to the misinterpreted Sanskrit *karsha*, so the Dravidian tongues readily explain the term *káṇi*, which finds no place in Aryan vocabularies, but which was incorporated into the vernaculars of Hindustán during the southward migrations of the Scythic tribes. In Telugu, *káṇi* means $\frac{1}{64}$, or one quarter of a sixteenth (Brown). In Canarese, $\frac{1}{64}$ (Reeve), and in Tamil $\frac{1}{80}$ (Winslow). Wilson's Glossary gives *káṇi*, corruptly, *cawney*. Tel. Tam. Karn. $\frac{1}{80}$, or sometimes $\frac{1}{64}$." Mr. W. H. Bayley, late Madras C.S., tells me that in modern books, and in the everyday practical measurement of land or other linear calculations, the *káṇi* is invariably estimated at $\frac{1}{64}$. The *do-gáni* or *doodee* is still quoted in the Madras almanacks.

(Coin, No. 188; weight, 168 grs.). Though no very definite conclusion, as to the effect upon the general circulation, can be drawn from the appearance of this silver piece, which may have been the result of a momentary whim, and there is, it must be confessed, a marked absence of any other representative silver coins, whether *tankahs* or *'adalis*, during the concluding eighteen years of Muhammad Tughlak's reign, though gold of the old standard of 175 grains was freely issued.

THE STATE COINAGE AND ITS INTERCHANGEABLE RATES UNDER MUHAMMAD BIN TUGHLAK.[1]

1 Káṇi = 1 Jítal.
2 ,, = Do-káṇi or *Sultání.*
6 ,, = Shash-káṇi, ¾ of Hasht-káni.
8 ,, = Hasht-káṇi.
12 ,, = Duwázdah-káṇi.
16 ,, = Shánzdah-káṇi.
64 ,, = 1 Tankah

64 Káṇis = 1 Tankah of 175 grs. pure silver.
32 Do-káṇis = 1 Tankah of 175 grs. pure silver.
8 Hasht-káṇis = 1 Tankah of 175 grs. pure silver.
4 Shánzdah-káṇis = 1 Tankah of 175 grs. pure silver.

The Káṇi exchanged against 4 copper *Fals*
,, Do-káṇi ,, ,, 8 ,,
,, Hasht-káṇi ,, 32 ,,
So that, the full change, in copper pieces, for the Tankah, amounted to 256.

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[1] The coinage as amplified and extended under Firúz Sháh. (The text of Shams-i-Siráj, which furnishes these details, will be found under Fírúz coins.)

64 Káṇis = old Tankah of 175 grs. 50 Káṇis = new 'Adali of 140 grs.

The irregular sub-divisions of the concurrent Tankah of 64 and 'Adali of 50 Káṇis are as follows:—1 Káṇi, 2, 6, 8, 10, 12, 24, 25, and 48. The 16 Káṇi piece is not quoted in the later lists. The 10, 24, and 48 Káṇi pieces seem to have been additional sub-divisions introduced by Fírúz Sháh. The 25 Káṇi piece was probably only the old Niṣfi or half 'Adali of Muhammad bin Tughlak. Fírúz Sháh also claims to have produced for the sake of the poor ½ Káṇis and ¼ Káṇis, in mixed copper and silver, I presume, as the 4 Fals already supplied any broken change below the single Káṇi or Jítal.

The most striking item disclosed by the details of the above table is the essentially indigenous character of the divisional contents of the *tankah* and its analogous fractional sub-divisions, both of which follow the ancient Indian quaternary scale of numeration in all its integrity. *Fives* and *tens* are here positively unknown quantities, and decimals of no account.

Altamsh was supposed to have recognized, in a general sense, the existing local standard; but it would seem that he must have adopted the prevailing monetary institutions, weights, measures, etc., *en bloc*, and that these remained undisturbed till 'Alá-ud-dín in the first instance, and Muhammad bin Tughlak in the second, gained new and enlarged views, associated possibly with other Indian traditions, during their expeditions to the Dakhan. The retention by Altamsh, so unreservedly, of local systems of reckoning in the minor sums up to the measure of the *tankah*, would seem necessarily to imply that the latter weight itself formed a definite unit, both theoretically and practically, in the pre-existing monetary computations. This is a concession which could not previously have been claimed, as Altamsh might have been supposed to have retained a leaning to Ghaznavi standards, and the new *tankah* might well have stood for a double *dirham*. The turning point, however, in this identification depends mainly upon the authentic weight of the true Indian unit, the *rati*, as recognized at the period in the exact locality of the Metropolitan Mint, and it is not impossible that the coins themselves may aid in fixing this still indeterminate quantity. The query then presents itself as to how many *ratis* of gold or silver this *tankah* was estimated to contain. The first answer within reasonable limits suggested by the progression of *fours*, in the table just given, would be

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96; but it is a very singular fact that the old Tables of Weights in Manu *do* introduce a decimal element after 32 *ratis* in the silver weights, and after 320 *ratis* in the gold weighments, the latter having already felt something of the decimal action in the initial use of the 5 *ratis* to 1 *másha*; and, finally, we have an absolute silver *ṣatamána* or 100 *mana* weight.[1] A very important bit of collateral evidence is con-

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[1] *a.* Ancient Indian Weights (from Manu, c. viii. § 134).

Silver.

2 Ratis = 1 Másha.
32 " = 16 " = 1 Dharana or Puráṇa.
320 " = 160 " = 10 " " = 1 Ṣatamána.

Gold.

5 Ratis = 1 Másha.
80 " = 16 " = 1 Suvarna.
320 " = 64 " = 4 " = 1 Pala or Nishka.
3200 " = 640 " = 40 " = 10 " " = 1 Dharana.

Copper.

80 ratis = 1 kárshápana.

b. The subjoined table of weights is valuable for the purposes of comparison, as possibly owing its origin to an independent section of Indian progress. It has been preserved in the *Atharva Pariṣishṭa*, a work supposed to date some centuries B.C., where it is expressly stated to be designed for the weighment of *ghí*, or the clarified butter employed in the sacrificial rites of the Brahmans.

Among other curious items, the text records the fact that the assumed *unit* in the descending scale was the *droṇa*, a measure for which a divine origin is claimed, as having been "given of old by Brahma himself."

5 Ratis = 1 Másha.
320 " = 64 " = 1 Palam.
10,240 " = 2,048 " = 32 " = 1 Prastham.
40,960 " = 8,192 " = 128 " = 4 " = 1 Áṭkam.
163,840 " = 32,768 " = 512 " = 16 " = 4 " = 1 Droṇa.

—Über den Veda kalender, Namens Jyotisham, von A. Weber, Berlin (1862), p. 82.

This table is highly interesting, not only on account of its antiquity, which probably approaches that of the parallel tables from Manu, but for the indications of a combination of two independent systems of calculation which it discloses. I gather from the text quoted by Professor Weber from the Atharva Parisishta tributed by the subsequently-devised *'adalis*, whose weights are much more closely defined both in the beautiful silver coins of Muhammad bin Tughlak, and in the better speci-

(Jyotisha, Abhandlungen der Kgl. Ak. der Wis., Berlin, 1862, p. 82), and other illustrative items he has collected from the early Sanskrit authorities (Zeitschrift (1861), p. 129), that the *droṇa* "measured by Brahma," and the *pala*, stated to be $\frac{1}{512}$th of the former, in the same passage, were weights affected by the Vedic Aryans, the *pala* alone is mentioned in the Nirukta, and the *máshaka* is not found in any texts "supposed to be" authentically Vedic; while in the slokas which furnish the details of the present table, the *prastha* is directly and the *áṭhaka* (*ádhaka*) indirectly pronounced to be a Magadha weight. It will be seen that the table is identical in its details, in the ascending scale, with the series of gold weights from Manu, up to the *pala* or *nishka*, when the Indian *fours* reassert themselves in the progressive advances, in lieu of the *ten palas*, which constitute the next increase in the earlier scales for the measure of gold.

I have collected the subjoined tables from various sources, with a view to illustrate more completely the general subject of Indian weights.

c. TABLE OF INDIAN WEIGHTS (from Bábar's Memoirs, p 332).

8 Ratis = 1 Másha.
32 " = 4 " = 1 Tang.
40 " = 5 " = 1 Miṣkál.
96 " = 12 " = 1 Tolah.
1344 " = 168 " = 14 " = 1 Sír.
53760 " = 6720 " = 560 " = 40 " = 1 Man.

"And it is fixed that everywhere 40 Sírs make one Man. . . They reckon jewels and precious stones by the Tang." See also note, p. 16, Áín-i-Akbari, Blochmann's translation, Calcutta, 1868, and text, pp. 31, 36.

d. Kashmír weights, from the Áín-i-Akbari, ii. p. 156, Gladwin's edition:—

1 *Tolah* = 16 *máshas* of six *ratis* each, or 96 *ratis*.
1 *Gold mohur* = 16 *dáms* of six *ratis* each, or 4 *ratis* more than the Dehli gold *mohur*.
Rabsasnu is a small coin of 9 *máshas* or 54 *ratis*.
Punchee is a copper coin in value $\frac{1}{4}$ *dám*; also called *kussere.*[1]
Bárahgáni is $\frac{1}{2}$ the *punchee* or $\frac{1}{8}$ *dám*
Shukri is $\frac{1}{4}$ *bárahgáni*.
4 *Punchees* or *kussereh*s = 1 *hut*.
40 " " = 1 *sásnu*, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ *sásnu* = 1 *sikkah*.
100 *Sásnus* = 1 *lák* = 1000 royal *dáms*.

Every coin and even manufactures are estimated in Kharwars of rice. . . .

mens of the brass tokens which were designed to replace these 50 *káṇi* pieces in the general circulation.

These coins, as a rule, touch very closely upon the exact 140 grains, and it is scarcely possible to doubt that this weight represents the 80 *rati* gold *suvarna* equally with the copper *kárshu* of Manu's Tables, the copper *ket*, the authoritative unit of the ancient Egyptians.[1] If the former association is conceded, my estimate of the *rati* at 1·75 grains falls in with singular evenness; for the *'adali*, 80 × 1·75 = 140, for the silver *tankah* or *ṣataraktika*, 100 × 1·75 = 175.[2] I do

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They have a weight of 2 *dáms*, called *pul*, and they also make use of the half and quarter of this weight; 7½ of these *puls* make 1 *sir*, 4 *sirs* a *man*, 4 *mans* 1 *turek*.

ii. page 196, "Coins of Kabul. 18 dinars = 1 tuman, which = 800 dáms."

e. TABLE OF INDIAN AND OTHER FOREIGN WEIGHTS, from the *Haft Ḳulzum*.

1 جو *jao* (यव) barley-corn = 1 حَبّة *habbat*, 'a grain, a seed.'
1 تسو *tasú* = 2 حبة „
4 جو barley-corns = 1 قيراط *ḳiráṭ* (κεράτιον) Carob.
8 حبة „ = 1 دانگ (A. دانق) *dáng* ($\frac{1}{6}$th).
48 جو „ = 1 درهم (A. درم) *dirham*.
68 حبة „ = 1 مثقال *misḳál* (שקל).
306 حبة or 4½ مثقال = 1 أستار *astár*, سير *sír* (सेटक).
510 حبة or 7½ *misḳáls* = 1 اوقية *aukíat* (ounce).
6120 حبة or 12 *aukíat* = 1 رطل *raṭl* (pound).
12240 حبة or 24 *aukíat* = 1 مَن *mann*.

See also variants in Áín-i-Akbari, Blochmann's Calcutta edition, p. 36.

[1] R. S. Poole, "Weights and Measures."—Smith's Dict. Bible.

[2] See *ante*, pp. 3, 167. Sir W. Jones rated the *rati* at 1 $\frac{5}{16}$ of a grain. Gen. Cunningham's estimate of the weight of the *rati* is 1·8229 grains; Mr. Maskelyne's 1·85.—Initial Coinage of Bengal, p. 9.

Sir W. Elliot, in answer to my inquiries as to the assimilation of the Southern not wish to claim this coincidence for more than it is worth, as it is but one link in a long chain, and the primitive weights of India had no doubt already been largely modified in different localities, and were somewhat advanced in their progress towards the extraordinary multiplicity of provincial standards, that so offend against the English idea of uniformity at the present day. Concurrently with the development of the *'adali*, in which a reduction of ⅕th, or 20 per cent., upon the old *tankah* of 175 grains, was effected, there appears a new gold piece, which is raised in weight above the old gold *tankah* of 175 grains by ⅛th, or about 14¼ per cent., forming a coin of 200 grains, specially designated on its surface as a *dínár*.[1] This particular type of coin was destined to have but a brief career, as the dates 725, 726 A.H., and a single speci-

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systems with the data afforded by the Dehli coins, has favoured me with the subjoined note on the subject:—"I have never met with a coin answering to the *tankah* of 140 or 175 grains. The largest pieces I know range between 55 and 60 grains, generally about 58 grains (but I have one of 66·9 grains). They go by the name of *tankahs*, as "padma-tankah," "varáha-tankah," etc. Some of them are figured in my Gleanings (figs. 28 and 33 of No. 1, and figs. 1 and 2 of No. 2). This bears no *apparent* relation to your *tankah*. The Dravidian *poṇ* I take to have weighed 29 or 30 grains, and these Southern *tankahs* I suppose to be *double poṇs*. This is borne out by the old arithmetical tables, in which accounts are still kept.

2 gunjas = 1 dugala (= ½ fanam).
2 dugalas = 1 chavala (= the paṇam or fanam).
2 chavalas = 1 d'hárana.
2 d'háranas = 1 hoṇa (= the pratápa, máda or ½ pagoda).
2 hoṇṇas = 1 varáha (= the hún or pagoda).

The *gunja* or unit (= ¼ fanam) is tne *rati* or Sanskrit *raktika*, the seed of the abrus. I have weighed numbers of these, and found them to vary from 1½ to 2 grains, or even more; a fair average would be 1¾ grains. Jervis (weights of the Konkan) and Prinsep, deducing the relative weights from the *mash*, make it 1·93 grains. But taking my average of 1·75 grains, we get your *tankah* or *ṣat-raktika* = 100 *ratis*, exactly 175 grains."

[1] Some of these coins are in very perfect condition; so to say, new from the dies, so that the weight may apparently be relied on. The half *dínár*, No. 177, at 99 grains, is a minor test of the true issue weight.

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men of 727 A.H., are all the examples that can be cited from the ten or twelve specimens accessible in modern cabinets; but the same weight is preserved in the varied type of coin Nos. 173, 174. The change in the form of these pieces seems to have been made upon artistic and mechanical grounds, and not to have had any reference to weights or values.[1] Some of these latter specimens are met with, ranging as high as 199 grains, coined in the course of 727 A.H., but rapidly deteriorating in weight, till examples of the same year's issue fall to 188, 168, and even to the ignominious 137 grains, which, however, may, each and all, have suffered from the sweater's abstractions.

One coincidence in the scale of the minor subdivisions of the silver standard must not be passed over in silence, as it evidences a singular concession to ancient custom, in the weights assigned to Muhammad bin Tughlak's small silver pieces, Nos. 189, 190, 193, 194. The annual dates on these varieties, taken in broken order, cover a period of fourteen years, less the temporary break due to the forced currency.[2]

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[1] "I had previously noted the motives for this change, which extended to the silver pieces of the same epoch. The years 727–728 A.H. present us with fresh modifications both in the types and legends of the recently revised coinage of Dehli. The examples, gold 173, silver 180, 189, exhibit the same elegance of design and accuracy of execution that mark the earlier efforts of Muhammad bin Tughlak's mint artists. The form of coin now adopted was probably held, in many respects, to be an improvement upon the broad pieces antecedently put forth, as under the Oriental method of preparing the *planchets* (blanks), the equable division of each could be effected with far greater facility when cut from a narrow bar than when divided into the thin plates necessitated by the ingot of the larger diameter, calculated for the broad coins. In addition to this advantage, the smaller size of the dies, and the diminished depth of the engraving of the fine lines of the legends, demanded less labour, in the process of striking, to produce a perfect medal, than was required to complete the impression of the broader and coarser coin of earlier days."—Pathán Sultáns, Supplt., Num. Chron., p. 17.

[2] A.H. 725, 726, 727; 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739.

There can be little question, whatever may be held to be the true weight of the *rati*, that we have in these pieces the medieval representatives of Manu's 32 *rati* silver *puráṇa*, or the successors of the earliest description of money prior to the introduction of the art of coining, the punched dominoes of silver, which aided the first step beyond barter, among the pre-Aryan Indians.[1] Fifty-six or fifty-seven grains will not divide evenly either into 175 or 140, but *ten* such pieces of 56 grains, being 1·75 grain to the *rati*, exactly answer to the old silver *ṣatamana* of 320 *ratis* (560 grains), of which mention has already been made; and, curious to say, the silver piece itself, allowing for a fractional depreciation in the metal, represents the value of 80 copper *fals*, as they are stated to have exchanged with the other subdivisions of the *tankah*. The 20 *káṇi* piece,[2] thus retained in the general scheme of the Quaternary distribution of the silver coinage, and for which a counterpart was provided in the forced currency, may once have belonged to an independently devised system; but both the 32 and the 80 *ratis*, the advance of 16 upon 24, identify it closely with ancient calculations, and especially with the progression to the 80 *ratis*, in the Gold and Copper Tables of Manu, which formed alike the gold *suvarna* and the copper *karshapana*.

Having completed the review of comparative weights, it remains to test and ascertain values. The new *'adalis* or 50 *káṇi* pieces are, to all appearance, composed of less pure silver than the old *tankahs* of 64 *káṇis*. This depreciation may have been intentional or otherwise,[1] but it looks as if it had been designed to meet some alteration in the other exchanges. Coincident with the production of *'adalis*, mention is made for the first time of *shashkáṇis*, or pieces of six, which Shaikh Mubárak intimates were useful in exchanges, and perhaps designed for the purpose of settling uneven payments, being, as he remarks, ¾ of the established *hashtkáṇi*, eight of which, as their name implies, went to the 64 *káṇi tankah*.[1] These *shashkáṇis* would not run in even sums, either into 64 or 50, though they made a second division of 8 into 48, a total seemingly of some prominence in the bázárs, as Fírúz Sháh subsequently provided a distinct denominational coin for that amount. The *hashtkáṇis* appear previously to have formed a very important element of the general currency;[2] they were composed, like so many of the

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[1] Earliest Indian Coinage, Numismatic Chronicle, vol. iv., N.S. (1864), p. 265; Journal As. Soc. Bengal, vol. xxxiv. (1865), p. 58.

[2] As 175 : 64 :: 56 : 20·48.

[3] Some of Alá-ud-dín's silver pieces seem to fall off from the old standard of

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white silver; his Dakhan gold, on the other hand, is unpleasantly white. See coin No. 131, *ante*.

[1] Le lakh vaut cent mille tankah تنكه et le tankah huit dirhams.—Not. et Ext. xiii. 182.

[2] I have to correct my reading of the passage from Ibn Batutah, quoted at page 17 of my Initial Coinage of Bengal. I now see that the conventional rate of exchange of gold and silver in the later period of Muhammad bin Tughlak's reign was 1 : 10. Ibn Batutah in other places (ii. 76; iii. 106, 187) distinctly sets this question at rest, even if Shaikh Mubárak did not inferentially confirm the fact (Not. et Extr. xiii. 211, 212). The concluding portion of the passage from Ibn Batutah is as follows:—

الدينار الفض هو ثمانية دراهم و درهمهم كالدرهم النقرة سواء.

"Celui-ci [le dínár d'argent] vaut huit drachmes, et leur drachme équivaut absolument à la drachme d'argent" (vol. iv. p. 210). I was misled by the use of the word *dínár*, which is so specially reserved for the gold pieces in the Dehli coinages, into supposing that the passage had reference in some obscure way to the *rate* of gold to silver; but further examination proves that Ibn Batutah had an odd way of applying the term *dínár* as دينار دراهم, etc. (iii. 254, 387, 422). (See also Col. Yule's summary of Ibn Batutah's notices of money in his excellent work on "Cathay and the Way thither," p. ccxlviii.). All Ibn Batutah appears to mean is that the *dínár* of silver (*i.e. tankah* ?) is equal to 8 *dirhams* (*hashtkáṇi*), and their *dirham* is identical in form with the silver piece. But considerable doubt must still indigenous coins of historic sequence, of a mixture of silver and copper in the proportions requisite to represent the value of ⅛th of a *tankah,* and are specifically described by the western travellers as identical in weight and partially in appearance with the silver coin itself. They may be identified with some of the examples of No. 182, the intrinsic contents alone determining the value in each case, so that the pure silver coins stamped with the same dies[1] are, doubtless, revised forms of *'adalis,* equally as their more extensively alloyed associates may be found to answer to the value of a *shashkáṇí.* This modification in the form of the *'adali* took place simultaneously with the alteration in the

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exist as to the true meaning of the passage, inasmuch as an almost counterpart statement in the Masálik al Abṣár adds the *silver dirham* "of Egypt." "Le dirhem *heschtkani* a le même poids que le dirhem d'argent الدرهم النقرة que a cours en Egypte et en Syrie. La valeur de l'une et l'autre pièce est la même." M. Quatremère adds, "Le texte porte حواره حواره Je lis جوازه جوازه."—Not. et. Extr. vol. xiii. p. 211. I may remark that Shaikh Mubárak, if M. Quatremère has rightly apprehended the passage quoted below, also designates the full *dirham* or *'adali*? as a current *dínár.* This irregular use of the word is in so far justified by local usage that we find Zíá Barni saying—وچندين طبق دينار زر و نقره و حوضكهاي پر تنگه زر و نقره (Calcutta text, p. 143). A difficulty has been felt in regard to the apparent inconsistency of Shaikh Mubárak having estimated the *dínár* or silver dirham at 6 *dirhams,* I conclude hashtkáṇis. M. Quatremère's translation is as follows: "800 Toumáns dont chacun vaut 10,000 dinárs courants et le dinár 6 dirhems: en sorte que cette somme se montait à 8 millions de dinárs courants ou 48 millions de dirhems" (Not. et Ext. xiii. 194). I suppose that the current dínár here meant was the *'adali;* or its then representative, which, excluding fractions, would run, in a rough calculation, about *six* hashtkáṇis, or 48 instead of the 50 káṇis required in the 140 grain silver piece. So also some confusion in the statement of nominal equivalents may have arisen from the 8 shashkáṇis, that would have equally amounted to 48.

[1] The proper *'adalis,* No. 180, which are broad pieces, date in 725, 726, 727 A.H. Nos. 181, 182, which are thick coins, take up the succession, and contribute the annual records of 727, 728, 729, 730 A.H.

gold pieces already averted to, and seemingly for similar objects, *i.e.* of securing less irregularity in the separation of the exact weight of silver required for each coin, from the bar or rod, into which the metal was fashioned, and facility of stamping, in the reduced size and relief of the letters of the legends.[1] I may repeat, that the entire scheme of the sub-divisional currency intervening between the pure silver piece and the copper coin, proceeded upon the plan of mixing silver and copper in the definite proportions required for the several intrinsic values. These alloys were formed into coins identical in weight, shape, and device, so that buyers and sellers had in each case to determine by the eye and the hand the value of the piece tendered in payment. A state of things inconceivable to European ideas, but practically involving but little difficulty among the natives of India,[2] even if the ever-ready money changer were not within call.

These numismatic details, aided by the information contributed by the African travellers, enable us to set at rest the real import of the passage in the Tabákat-i-Akbari, which Ferishtah so strangely perverted,[3] and which led General

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[1] Abu'l Fazl tells us that the metal was "cast into round ingots;" in Hindústán the workman, without "such machine" as they require in Persia, cuts the sections "with such exactness that there is not the difference of a single hair."—Áín Akbari.

[2] "Practical men can discover from the colour of the compound which of the alloys (lead, tin, or copper) is prevailing."—Áín-i-Akbari, Blochmann, i. 22. Gladwin, i. 16.

[3] In referring to the early profusion of Muhammad bin Tughlak, and the enormous sums he is reported to have squandered in gifts and pensions, Ferishtah incidentally alludes to the intrinsic value of the money of this monarch, affirming that, "Nizám-ud-dín Ahmad Bakhshi, surprised at the vast sums stated by historians to have been lavished by this prince, took the trouble to ascertain, from authentic records, that these *tankahs* were of the silver currency of the day, in which was amalgamated a great deal of alloy, so that each *tankah* only exchanged

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Briggs to assert that the silver *tankah* of Muhammad bin Tughlak was "worth only about 4*d*. instead of 2*s*." The true reading of the original is to the effect that the *tankah* of this period was slightly alloyed with copper, so that it was only worth eight *black tankahs*. Eight *shashkáṇis* would, in effect, be equal to 48 *káṇis* of real silver, or, admitting the alloy, to an *'adali* of 140 grains. This rectification is of very considerable importance, as it determines within certain limits the value of the *black tankah* at about 16·4 grains of silver, or 2¼ pence, a definition which will prove highly useful in estimating the worth of the subsequent issues of the Sultáns of Dehli. Under the new aspect of the inquiry now presented, I must not fail to amend my own suggestion at page 117, as to the possible identification of *black tankahs* with any of the moderately alloyed silver pieces of the generic name minted in Bengal or Hindústán.

The *shashkáṇi*, if it exists in the composite form of mixed metal, seems to have been but little affected by the people at large, and probably remained for a long time more of a theoretical than a practical benefit. As far as can be seen, no

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for 16 copper *pice* (making a *tankah* worth only about 4*d*. instead of 2*s*.)."—Briggs's Ferishtah, i. p. 410.

The Persian text of the original passage is as follows :—

چنانچه نظام الدين احمد بخشي تحقيق كرده مراد ازين تنكه تقره
است كه پاره مس هم داشت يكي ازان تنكهارا شانزده پول مس
ميدادند

Bombay text. i. p. 236. Briggs, i. 410.

واضي باشد كه مراد ازين تنكه تنكه نقره است كه پاره از مس هم
داشت و بهشت تنكه سياه برابر است

Tabákaṭ-i-Akbari, MS. E.I. Library, No. 997, p. 75.

Nizám-ud-dín Ahmad, a portion of whose text is reproduced verbatim in the copy, instead of saying anything about copper *paisa*, simply states that the current *tankah* was equal to eight *black tankahs*.

provision was made for its substitute in the forced currency of 730 A.H.,[1] though the *hashtkáṇis* are common enough. It will be seen hereafter that Fírúz Sháh claims to have invented the *shashkáṇi*, which would also imply that the number coined in the previous reign must have been to a certain extent limited. One novelty for which Muhammad bin Tughlak claims credit was the *dokáṇi*, or piece of two *káṇis*,[2] which Shaikh Mubárak mentions was entitled after its royal deviser, *Sultáni.* This must have been a highly useful coin, "four going to the *hashtkáṇi*, three to the *shashkaṇi*;" and, finally, our translators concludes, "Une pièce qui est la moitié du dirhem Sultani se nomme يكانى pièce d'un et vaut un حسل." The counterpart of which legend is to be found on Gen. Cunningham's coin, No. 207.

A point of considerable importance in the history of the monetary transactions of this period is the relative values of gold and silver. *The standard*, if any distinct conception of its meaning, as we understand it, existed at all, seems to have been based upon the primitive copper currency, which was of such universal distribution as to be confessedly less liable to fluctuation than gold or silver. Certainly, in Akbar's time, when theory was more distinctly applied to the subject, copper was established as the authoritative basis of all money computations.[3] Silver in its turn, next to copper, was necessarily most fixed and determinate in value, whereas gold, from its comparative rarity, and the anxiety with which it was sought for at all times in India, whether for the purposes of hoarding[1] or the construction of ornaments, rendered it peculiarly liable to be affected by the laws of supply and demand. I am still sanguine enough to believe that the newly-devised gold and silver money, with which Muḥammad bin Tughlak inaugurated his reign, will enable us to determine from the relative scale of proportions the actual rate prevailing at this period. It is true that the margin is wide, and the figures involved contribute more than one sum consistent in the several relations, but the predominance of evidence points clearly to 8 : 1 and 7 : 1. I do not in any way contest the fact that there is evidence to show that ten silver pieces exchanged against one of gold later in this reign, but this concession by no means implies that the ratio of the two metals was as 10 : 1. As has been said before, there is considerable obscurity in the narrations of the western travellers in regard to the definition of *dirhams* and *dinárs*. About the old *tankahs* no possible question can arise, whether of gold or silver; they followed the same identical weight of 175 grains.[2] We have seen that the Sultán borrowed these foreign terms and introduced them for the first time into the mint phraseology of Dehli, the one as applied to the 200 grain gold piece (No. 171), the other as engraved on the tokens of the forced currency, which I suppose to have represented the early *'adali* of 140 grains of silver (No. 202).

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[1] At one time I imagined I had discovered a token *shashkáṇi*, as the six dots of the شش seemed to be unquestionable; but as the second set of .·. may be intended for the marks of the final ني in *káṇi* I do not think it safe to quote a single specimen. The initial *h* ه takes the form of *h* ﺣ.

[2] The Arabic word quoted, in all its imperfection, by M. Quatremère is الدكاسه. There can be little question as to the correct restoration.

[3] *Áín-i-Akbari*, i. 3, 4, 37, etc.; Num. Chron. iv. 118; Ovid. Fast. i. 220; Lucretius, v. 1275; Madden, Jewish Coinage, 278.

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[1] The author of the Masálik al Abṣár has preserved a curious contemporary notice of this custom of the natives of India in Muhammad bin Tughlak's time. "Les habitants d'Inde ont la réputation d'aimer à amasser des richesses et à thésaurier. Lorsque l'on demande à l'un d'entre eux combien il possède de bien, il répond : Je ne sais pas ; mais je suis le second ou le troisième de ma famille, qui travaille à accroître le trésor que mon aïeul a déposé dans telle caverne, dans tel puits ; et j'ignore à combien il se monte. Les Indiens ont l'usage de creuser des puits pour y renfermer leurs trésors. Quelques-uns pratiquont dans leurs maisons une excavation en forme de citerne, qu'ils ferment ensuite avec soin, n'y laissant que l'ouverture nécessaire pour y introduire des pièces d'or. C'est là qu'ils accumulent leurs richesses. Ils ne reçoivent point l'or travaillé, brisé ou en lingots, dans la crainte de la fraude ; ils ne prennent ce mètal que monnayé" (xiii. p. 218).

[2] The Tabákat-i-Násiri speaks of—تنکهٔ زرو نقره (p. 162); تنکه های زرسرخ.

The leading motive in these exceptional issues, and the subordinate readjustments consequent thereupon, seems to have been the utilization of the stores of gold which filled the Sultán's treasuries; and without proposing to introduce a definite gold standard, which, under the surrounding circumstances, would doubtless have proved impracticable, he appears to have aimed at a large expansion of the currency of the land by direct means, associated with an equitable revision of the basis of exchange between gold and silver, which had been disturbed by the large accessions of the former from the Dakhan, unaccompanied by any proportionate addition to the supply of the latter.

The early Pathán kings, judging by their numismatic remains, put forth gold in very limited quantities, and merely

(p. 184); تنکه نقره (315); and carefully discriminates the contrast of the term دینار (p. 167); also هزار دینار زر رکنی (pp. 372, 391, Calcutta text).

The Khazáín ul Futúḥ of Mir Khusrú makes play upon the various forms—تنکهٔ زر و سیم و تنکهائ سرخ و سپید چون کل صوری و صد برک توبرتو نهاده بزازان جامهائ کوناکون etc.

Ziá Barni also varies his phraseology—تنکهٔ زر و تنکهٔ نقره دادي و لفظ تنکه و چیتل (p. 118, also pp. 130, 492); چیتل از زبان او بیرون نیامدي (pp. 137, 247); دنگ (p. 312); دانگ و درم (p. 469).

As late as the time of Kaikobád foreign *dinárs* seem to have been retained in the coined state—وچندین طبق دینار زر و نقره و حوضکهاي پر تنگه زر و نقره بر سر پدر و پسر نثار کردند (Calcutta edition, p. 143).

as an adjunct in complement to the more abundant *silver tankahs*. Alá-ud-dín's plunder of the Dakhan, with its immemorial wealth of gold, is associated with a correspondingly ample increase of *gold tankahs* for home use. This influx of the higher metal, aided by the later contributions of Káfúr[1] and Khusrú from the same sources, indicated in the mintages of succeeding reigns, may well have disturbed the ancient relations of the two metals. I had estimated the relative values as about 8 : 1, without pressing the assumption that this rate represented the normal and immutable condition of things, but as a once existing and possibly recurring ratio.[2] Col. H. Yule, who has investigated these questions from an independent point of view, by the aid of the written testimony of Marco Polo and other western travellers in the East,[3] has suggested a probable fall in the value of gold, at the period of Muhammad bin Tughlak's accession, to a proportion as low as 7 : 1; and, singular to say, these two scales, viz., 8 : 1 and 7 : 1, are those which most consistently fall in with and explain the figures in the subjoined table, and lead to the preferential conclusion that at the moment of revision the old rate of 8 : 1 had sunk to 7 : 1, and had been provided for accordingly. It is not necessary to define *when* this change came about; it is sufficient to say that the fact was officially recognized on the occasion of the reconstruction and remodelling of the coinage undertaken in 725 A.H.

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[1] Ferishtah, in mentioning Káfúr's plunder, brought to Dehli in 711 A.H., amounting to 96,000 *mans* of gold, which was "melted down, coined, and lodged in the treasury," adds, silver was not used as a coin in the south.—Briggs, i. 374. The Masálik al Abṣár also notices "un des prédécesseurs de ce Ṣultán ayant fait de grandes conquêtes, enleva des pays vaincus une telle quantité d'or qu'il en chargea 13,000 bœufs."—Not. et Extr. xiii. 218.

[2] Initial Coinage of Bengal, p. 16; J.R.A.S., N.S., vol. ii. p. 160; Marco Polo, cap. xxxix.

[3] Col. Yule, however, in insisting upon the 10 : 1 as the *normal* rate, has to do great violence to probabilities in claiming so sudden a change as that from 10 : 1 to 7 : 1, within a comparatively brief period, and attributing it to the influx of gold from the south, which in truth commenced with Alá-ud-dín's conquests in in 693 A.H., or some thirty years prior to the accession of Muhammad bin Tughlak. The intermediate reigns show a well-maintained proportion of gold to silver in extant examples, and we hear of no particular accession of southern gold as the result of Fakhr-ud-dín Júná's command in that direction during his father's lifetime. Col. Yule remarks—"It has occurred to me as just possible that the changes made by Muhammad bin Tughlak in the coinage may have had reference to the depreciation of gold owing to the 'great Dekhan prize money' of that age. Thus, previous to his time, we have gold and silver coins of equal weight, and bearing (according to the view which has been explained) a nominal ratio of ten to one. Muhammad on coming to the throne finds that in conse-

TABLE OF EXCHANGE RATES OF GOLD AND SILVER COIN IN INDIA.

Conflicting Scale, on the Accession of Muhammad bin Tughlak.

	GOLD.	SILVER.			
7 : 1—	175 ×	7=1225=	7 old silver pieces		(7×175=1225).
			9 new	,, ,,	(9×140=1260).
8 : 1—	175 ×	8=1400=	8 old	,, ,,	(8×175=1400).
			10 new	,, ,,	(10×140=1400).
10 : 1—	175 ×	10=1750=	10 old	,, ,,	(10×175=1750).
			12·5 new	,, ,,	(12·5×140=1750)
12 : 1—	175 ×	12=2100=	12 old	,, ,,	(12×175=2100).
			15 new	,, ,,	(15×140=2100).
14 : 1—	175 ×	14=2450=	14 old	,, ,,	(14×175=2450).
			17·5 new	,, ,,	($17\frac{7}{14}$×140=2450).

Revised Scale, introduced to meet the fall in gold.

7 : 1—	200 ×	7=1400=	8 old silver pieces		(8×175=1400).
			10 new	,,	(10×140=1400).
8 : 1—	200 ×	8=1600=	9 old	,,	(9×175=1575).
			11 new	,,	(11×140=1540).
10 : 1—	200 ×	10=2000=	11·429 old	,,	($11\frac{75}{175}$×175=2000).
			14·285 new	,,	($14\frac{40}{140}$×140=2000).
12 : 1—	200 ×	12=2400=	13·714 old	,,	($13\frac{125}{175}$×175=2400).
			17·14 new	,,	($17\frac{20}{140}$×140=2400).
14 : 1—	200 ×	14=2800=	16 old	,,	(16×175=2800).
			20 new	,,	(20×140=2800).

quence of the great influx of gold the relative value of that metal has fallen greatly, say to something like seven to one, which as a local result where great treasure in gold had suddenly poured in, is, I suppose, conceivable. He issues a

On previous occasions, where I have sought to discover, from the internal evidence of the coins themselves, the object proposed in the changes they bore testimony to, I was misled by the supposition that the 140 grain silver piece was an innovation of Muhammad bin Tughlak's own conception, devised and given effect to simultaneously with the production of the novel 200 grain gold *dínár*. I now see from the passage in the Khazáín ul Futúḥ, quoted at page 247, that this coin was the invention of Alá-ud-dín Muhammad Sháh (No. 14 of the general list), designed apparently to aid the general scheme of reduction of the pay of the troops.[1] Whether any partial or complete mintage of such money ever took place, we need not stop to inquire; but the act of recognizing the existence of such a theoretical measure of value at once reduces the absolute innovations of Muhammad bin Tughlak to the single item of the new gold piece, and leaves us the more simple task of detecting the motive of a single modification, instead of entering upon the complications of a double variation in the leading representatives of gold and silver coin. At the rate of 8 : 1, as will be seen from the figures given above, *eight* old silver *tankahs* and *ten*

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coinage which shall apply to this new ratio, and yet preserve the relation of the pieces as ten to one. This accounts for his 200 grain gold and 140 grain silver pieces. Some years later, after the disastrous result of his copper tokens, the value of gold has risen, and he reverts to the old standard of 175 grains, leaving (as far as I can gather) the silver piece at its reduced weight. At the exchange of ten silver pieces for one of gold, this now represents a relative value of eight to one."—Cathay and the Way thither, p. ccli.

[1] "Alá-ud-dín . . . apprehensive of another invasion of the Moghuls, he increased his forces so greatly, that upon calculating the expense, he found his revenues, and what treasures he had himself amassed, could not support them above six years. In this dilemma he resolved to reduce the pay of the army, but it occurred to him that this could not be done with propriety, without lowering, proportionably, the price of horses, arms, and provision."—Briggs's Ferishtah, i. 355.

new *'adalis* went to the old gold *tankah*; in the variation of the rate from 8:1 to 7:1, a corresponding reduction had either to be made in the number of silver pieces, as the received equivalents of the existing gold piece, or a new gold piece had to be produced which should leave the old numerical rates of silver coins untouched, and this is exactly what the 200 grain *dinár* accomplishes: *eight* old silver *tankahs* and *ten* new *'adalis* constitute the change for the new *dinár*. As has been shown above (coin, No. 173), this description of piece was continued in a different form, though eventually the gold coinage reverted to the ancient standard of weight, or 175 grains. A momentary attempt was also made to revert to the old silver *tankah* in 734 A.H., but this movement does not seem to have been sustained; and thus it would appear that the 140 grain silver coins continued to hold the position of *the* largest silver piece supplied by the mint, and it is to these pieces we must understand the African authorities refer when they fix the rate of 10 *dirhams* to 1 gold 175 grain *tankah*, which brings us back to the previous 8:1, a rate which would be readily restored without State interference by the limitation of the supply of gold, its inevitable absorption by the masses, and the importation of silver from proximate lands, which the anomalously high rate would be sure to encourage. It would seem from the way in which Ibn Batutah reserves the name of *tankah* for the gold coins alone that no full-weight silver *tankahs* whatever were in the course of issue from the mints at the period of his residence in India; and the very curious combination of the term of دينار درهم might almost be taken to point to the *dirhams*, which were associated in the public mind with the introduction of the prefixed Arabic name, which had been made special to the new gold coin, in supercession of the indigenous denominations hitherto in use. So also the passage from the Masálik al Abṣár already quoted (p. 228), speaks of "*dinárs* courants" of six *dirhams* [*hashtkáṇis*], and eight millions of "*dinárs* courants ou 48 millions de *dirhams*." These are clearly 140 grain coins, following on with the conventional جائز "current," and شرعي "legal," of Nos. 201, 202; and the distinction is further marked in the same work in the General Table of Coins, which follow the old system, and expressly designates the silver piece of 8 *dirhams hashtkáṇi*, as "le *tankah* d'argent."[1]

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[1] On further consideration, I have decided to reproduce the original text in its entirety, from M. Quatremère's article, in order that there may be no misapprehension as to the sources of my knowledge or the accuracy of the interpretation I put upon the data supplied:—"Suivant ce que m'a raconté le scheïkh Moubarak, le *lac* rouge اللك الاحمر contient 100,000 *tankah* (d'or) et le *lac* blanc اللك الابيض 100,000 *tankah* (d'argent). Le *tankah* d'or, appelé dans ce pays *tankah* rouge التنكه الحمراء, équivaut a trois *mithkals*; et le *tankah* d'argent التنكه النقرة وهي تنكه الفضة comprend huit dirhems *heschtkanis*. Le dirhem *heschtkani* a le même poids que le dirhem d'argent الدرهم النقرة, qui a cours en Égypte et en Syrie. La valeur de l'une et l'autre pièce est la même, et ne diffère presque en rien. Le dirhem *heschtkani* répond à quatre dirhems *Sultanis*, autrement nommés *doukanis* الدكانيه [do káni. No. 206]. Le dirhem *Sultani* vaut le tiers d'un dirhem *scheschkani* سستكانى (je lis ششكانے pièce de six), qui est une troisième espèce de monnaie d'argent qui a cours dans l'Inde, et qui équivaut aux trois quarts du dirhem *heschtkani*. Une pièce, qui est la moitié du dirhem *Sultani*, se nomme *yekani* يكانى (pièce d'un), et vaut un *djital* حسل [No. 207]. Un autre dirhem, appelé *douazdehkani* دوازدهكانے (pièce de douze), a cours pour un *heschtkani* et demi. Une autre pièce appelée *schanizdekani* سارددكانى, correspond à deux dirhems. Ainsi les monnaies d'argent, en usage dans l'Inde, sont au nombre de six, savoir: le dirhem *schanizdekani* ساردكانى, le *douazdekani* دوارد يكانى le *heschtkani*, le *scheschkani* سسكانى, le *sultani* et le *yekani* يكانى. La moindre de ces pièces est le dirhem *sultani*. Ces trois espèces de dirhems ont cours dans le commerce, et sont reçues universellement; mais aucune n'est d'un usage plus général que le dirhem *sultani*, qui équivaut à un quart de dirhem, monnaie d'Egypte et de

MUHAMMAD BIN TUGHLAK'S FORCED CURRENCY.

Towards the close of the thirteenth century of our era, and during the succeeding forty years, no less than three Asiatic potentates essayed to enrich their treasuries by the issue of representative currencies. Kublai Khán, the Moghul conqueror of China, so far introduced the device, that he expanded and systematized the use of paper notes, which had very early developed itself in that empire;[1] so that circumstances were eminently propitious for the experiment, both in the precedent, the instincts of the people, and the absence of coined money in gold or silver. The latter item alone constituted, in itself, a most important element in the immediate success of the measure, as no vulgar prejudice had to be offended by the withdrawal or supercession of current money of positive intrinsic value; and the very introduction of a paper currency of graduated denominations, bearing the stamp of so powerful a monarch, aided materially in the development of commercial intercourse among the people at large.[2]

Syrie. Le dirhem *sultani* vaut huit fels فلوس (oboles), le *djital* حسل (جيتل), quatre *fels*; et le dirhem *heschtkani*, qui corresporḍ parfaitement au dirhem d'argent d'Égypte et de Syrie, vaut trente-deux *fels*. Le *ritl* (*rotl*) de l'Inde, qui porte le nom de *sir* سير, pèse 70 mithkals, qui estimés en dirhems d'Egypte, en valent $102\frac{2}{3}$. Quarante *sir* forment un *mann* من واحد. On ne connaît pas dans l'Inde la méthode de mesurer les grains."—Notices et Extraits, xiii. 211.

[1] The introduction dates from 119 B.C. H. Parkes, J.R.A.S. xiii. 179. P. Gaubil, quoted in Marsden, p. 357, note 677.

[2] The following is Marco Polo's account of the paper currency of Kublai Khán: "In this city of Kanbalu is the mint of the grand Khan, who may truly be said to possess the secret of the alchemists, as he has the art of producing money by the following process:—He causes the bark to be stripped from those mulberry-trees, the leaves of which are used for feeding silkworms, and takes from it that thin inner rind which lies between the coarser bark and the wood of the tree. This being steeped, and afterwards pounded in a mortar, until reduced to a pulp, is made into paper, resembling (in substance) that which is manufactured from

Very different were the terms Kai Khátú proposed to inflict upon his subjects in Persia: his motive was obviously evil, and the surroundings inauspicious under almost every aspect. Many of the clauses of the *Tabríz Tchao* edict of A.H. 693 (A.D. 1294) followed the Chinese system; but instead of

cotton, but quite black. When ready for use, he has it cut into pieces of money of different sizes, nearly square, but somewhat longer than they are wide. Of these, the smallest pass for a denier tournois; the next for a Venetian silver groat; others for two, five, and ten groats; others for one, two, three, and as far as ten besants of gold. The coinage of this paper money is authenticated with as much form and ceremony as if it were actually of pure gold or silver; for to each note a number of officers, specially appointed, not only subscribe their names, but affix their signets also; and when this has been regularly done by the whole of them, the principal officer, deputed by his Majesty, having dipped into vermilion the royal seal, committed to his custody, stamps with it the piece of paper, so that the form of the seal, tinged with vermilion, remains impressed upon it, by which it receives full authenticity as current money, and the act of counterfeiting it is punished as a capital offence. When thus coined in large quantities, this paper currency is circulated in every part of the grand Khán's dominions; nor dare any person, at the peril of his life, refuse to accept it in payment. All his subjects receive it without hesitation, because, wherever their business may call them, they can dispose of it again in the purchase of merchandise they may have occasion for; such as pearls, jewels, gold or silver. With it, in short, every article can be procured. . . . . When any persons happen to be possessed of paper money which from long use has become damaged, they carry it to the mint, where, upon the payment of only 3 per cent., they may receive fresh notes in exchange. Should any be desirous of procuring gold or silver for the purposes of manufacture, such as drinking-cups, girdles, or other articles wrought of these metals, they in like manner apply at the mint, and for their paper obtain the bullion they require. All his Majesty's armies are paid with this currency, which is to them of the same value as if it were gold or silver."—Marsden, cap. xviii.

Among other substitutes for money, Marco Polo notices the use of coral in Tibet. He says: "These people use no coined money, nor even the paper money of the grand Khán, but for their currency employ coral." The money or currency they make use of (in Kain-du) is thus prepared. Their gold is formed into small rods, and passes according to its weight, without any stamp. This is their greater money; the smaller is salt-cakes, on which the stamp of the grand Khán is impressed; 80 of the cakes are made to pass for a saggio of gold. In Karaian they employ for money the white porcelain shell found in the sea; 80 of these shells equal in value 1 saggio of silver.

Ibn Batutah's testimony to the success of Kublai's paper currency is as follows:

bringing a benefit, in disguise, it was manifestly fraudulent in its inception, associated with tyranny and oppression in the enforcement of its provisions; so much so, that Ghazán Khán, the nephew of the reigning monarch, refused to admit the fictitious money within the limits of his government of Khorasán. And the measure, upheld with much difficulty

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"Les habitants de la Chine n'emploient dans leurs transactions commerciales ni pièces d'or ni pièces d'argent. Toutes celles qui arrivent dans ce pays sont fondues en lingots, comme nous venons de le dire. Ils vendent et ils achètent au moyen de morceaux de papier, dont chacun est aussi large que la paume de la main, et porte la marque ou le sceau du Sultan. Vingt-cinq de ces billets sont appelés *bâlicht* (بَالشت), ce qui revient au sens du mot dínár, ou de pièce d'or chez nous. (Ibn Batutah expressly mentions that there is no charge for renewal of the worn paper.) Si un individu se rend au marché avec une pièce d'argent, ou bien avec une pièce d'or, dans le dessein d'acheter quelque chose, on ne la lui prend pas, et l'on ne fait aucune attention à lui, jusqu'à ce qu'il l'ait changée contre le bâlicht ou les billets avec lesquels il pourra acheter ce qu'il désirera."—Ibn Batutah, Paris edit. iv. 259. (About 1345 A.D.) See also Not. et Extr. xiii. 222.

Du Halde, in his great work upon China, has given an engraving of one of the notes of *Hong vou* (*Tai tsou*) (A.D. 1366), the founder of the twenty-first or Ming dynasty, and adds, "these sheets are much sought after by those that build, who hang them up as a rarity on the chief beam of the house which, according to vulgar notion, preserves the house from all misfortunes." (English edition, London, 1741, vol. ii. p. 293.)

Colonel H. Yule has succeeded in obtaining a specimen of the early Ming dynasty's paper currency, which has the peculiarity of being "nearly black," as described by Marco Polo. Antiquarians await, with much interest, Col. Yule's account of this fragment of Eastern life, which is to appear in his forthcoming edition of the Travels of Marco Polo.

The inscriptions on the sides of the Hong vou note are given in a translated form by Du Halde as follows:

"1. The Court of the Treasury having presented their petition, it is decreed that the paper money thus marked with the Imperial seal of Ming shall pass current, and be put to the same use as copper coin. Those who counterfeit it shall be beheaded."

"2. He who shall inform against and secure them [the forgers] shall have a reward of 250 taéls. Besides, he shall receive the goods of the criminal, as well immovable as movable. Dated such a year, month, and day, of the reign of Hong vou."

during the space of two months, contributed indirectly to the loss of Kai Khátú's throne, and the bowstring avenged his people's wrongs little more than six months after the first proclamation of this notable financial operation.[1]

Khai Khátú's scheme for a paper currency was designed,[2] not to aid the existing circulation, but to suppress and supersede altogether the use of gold and silver money, as well as to prevent the employment of those metals in manufactures, the object being that all the precious metals in the land might be monopolized by the ruling power. The execution of the decree necessarily fell with immediate severity on the everyday transactions of life, and was felt more especially in the matter of provisions, which, like all other goods, were not allowed to be paid for in coin; and as the dealers objected to the new substitute for cash, they adopted the simple alternative of closing their shops, and produced absolute famine in the metropolis, while plenty reigned in the districts around. No wonder, then, that the starved citizens of Tabríz rose up as one man and wreaked their vengeance upon the subordinate whom they deemed the author of their woes, while the Sultán was left to discover from the empty streets that all was not well with his capital.

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[1] D'Ohsson, iv. 101; Malcolm's Persia, i. 430; De Guignes, Book xvii. 267; Langlés, Mem. de l'Institute, iv. 115; Price's Mahommedan History, ii. 596; De Saulcy, Journal Asiatique, 1842; Prof. E. B. Cowell, J.A.S. Bengal, 1860, p. 187.

[2] The following is a description of the form and legends of the notes:

هیات و صورت چاو بدین منوال بود پیرامنِ سطحِ کاغذ پارهٔ مُرَبَّع مستطیل چند کلمه بخط خطایی که محض خطا این بود نوشته و بربالای آن از دو طرف، لااله الاالله، محمدٌ رسول الله، سِکّهٔ سبیکهٔ نقد و واسطهٔ فراید عقد، و طغرائ صحیفهٔ منشور و مُتَمِّم تمایم آن نحور ساخته، و فروتر از ان

ایرِینچین تورْچِی

تحریر کرده، و در میانه دایرهٔ کشیده خارج از مرکز صواب و از نیم درهم تا ده دینار رقم زده و بشیوهٔ سُطُور در قلم آورده که پادشاه جهان کیخاتو خان در تاریخ سنه ثلاث و تسعین و ستمایه این چاو مبارک را در ممالک روانه کردانید، تغیر و تبدیل کننده را با زن و فرزند بیاسا رسانیده مال اورا مصبت دیوان بردارند

—Waṣṣáf, Bombay lithographed edition.

Far other motives seem to have actuated Muhammad bin Tughlak's trial of a forced currency. Of course, the introduction of so sweeping a measure as making the king's brass equivalent to other men's silver, admits of scant defence among civilized nations. Fakhr-ud-dín Júná, as the Sultán was called before his accession to the throne, was not innately a vicious man, though absolute beyond the ordinary range of Eastern despots, and whose severities, not to say cruelties, would have emptied many another throne: he ruled for twenty-seven years, or nearly as long as the combined reigns of his six predecessors, and died in his bed at last, a mercy that was only doubtfully extended to one of the six monarchs in question His leading eccentricities are described as profusion and want of mercy;[1] the first took the form of Oriental liberality, in regal gifts, rather than in mere ostentatious display or reckless personal extravagance; the second was, perchance, incident to the disregard of human life prevailing around him, and his own avowed conviction of its necessity. Of avarice, however, no one has accused him; he may well have heard of the success of the paper currency in China, equally as he may have learnt the fate the similar but less effectively concerted device had met with in Persia; nevertheless he may have felt and justly conceived that he was strong enough to try the experiment, and he withdrew from it frankly when it proved a failure. Severe to the extreme in his punishments, and, doubtless, ready to enforce the penalties said to have been specified in the original proclamation,[1] no threat of vengeance is recorded on the forced currency, as had been the case with the Chinese and Persian notes. The legends on the brass tokens consist

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[1] Here is Ibn Batutah's estimate of the Sultán whom he served: "Mohammed est de tous les hommes celui qui aime davantage à faire des cadeaux et aussi à répandre le sang (عن فقير يُغنَى او حَىّ يُقتَل). Sa porte voit toujours près d'elle quelque *fakir* qui devient riche, ou quelque être vivant qui est mis à mort. Ses traits de générosité et de bravoure, et ses exemples de cruauté et de violence

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envers les coupables, ont obtenu de la celébrité parmi le peuple. Malgré cela, il est le plus humble des hommes et celui qui montre le plus d'équité; les cérémonies de la religion sont observées à sa cour; il est très sévère en ce qui regarde la prière et la châtiment qui suit son inexécution. Il est au nombre des rois dont la félicité est grande, et dont les heureux succès dépassent ce qui est ordinaire; mais sa qualité dominante, c'est la générosité."—Ibn Batutah, iii. 215.

The Shaikh Mubárak bin Mahmúd *Anbati*, who also visited Muhammad bin Tughlak's Court, is equally warm in his praises of the generosity, humility, and accomplishments of the Sultán, but does not allude to his cruelties.—*Masálik al Abṣár*, in Notices et Extraits, xiii. pp. 190, 191. See also another witness, pp. 187, 207, etc.

[1] I do not reproduce the minor details of this operation as variously recorded in the versions of the Indian historians. In the mere order of priority of publication, I may refer the reader to Dow, i. p. 302, Briggs, i. p. 414, who translate Ferishtah's text. An English rendering of the Persian text of the Tabákat-i-Akbari is to be found in my first edition of the Pathán Sultáns, p. 56. The original Persian passage from Zíá Barni is given in my Supplement (Dehli, 1851, p. 19, and Num. Chron. xv. p. 140); and the text of that author has since been published in extenso in Calcutta (1862), and freely translated by Prof. Dowson, Elliot's Historians, vol. iii. p. 240. See also Elphinstone's India, p. 405, and Jour. As. Soc. Bengal, 1860, p. 193.

either of an appeal to the religious devotion of one section of his subjects, or of an official intimation of legal equivalents to guide the mercantile classes: in no instance were these representatives of real money issued to pass for the more valuable current gold pieces; the highest coin he desired credit for, in virtue of the regal stamp, was a Tankah of 140 grains of silver, and the minor subdivisions were elaborately provided for in detail. No interference whatever seems to have been contemplated with the existing circulating media, and the proportion of the new coinage absolutely uttered, large as it was, must have been infinitesimal, in reference either to the income of the Sovereign or the fabulous wealth of the kingdom over which he held sway.[1] With every material element of success, this carefully organized measure was doomed to failure, from an altogether unforseen cause. His Majesty's officers of the mint worked with precisely the same tools as the ordinary workman, and operated upon a metal, so to say, universally available. There was no special machinery to mark the difference of the fabric of the Royal Mint and the handy-work of the moderately skilled artisan.[2] Unlike the precautions taken to prevent

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[1] Mubárak *Anbati* gives an illustration of the wealth of the land, in the incident of the confiscation of a sum of 437,000,000 *miskáls* of gold from one offender, "an incalculable mass of gold."—Not. et Ext. xiii. 194. See also p. 173, the old story of the discovery of 40 *bahárs* of gold, each *bahár* weighing 333 mans.

[2] Ziá Barni says—در هر خانهٔ ازخانهای هندوان دار الضربی پیدا امد و هندوان بلاد ممالک کرورها و لکها از مهرمس ضرب کنانیدند
Calcutta text, 475.

T. Mubárak Sháh—هندوان و مفسدان مواسات و موالات علانیه در هر دیهي دار الضرب ساختند و مهرمس میزدند

Budáoni—هرجاً هرجاً در مواضع خویش دارالضرب پیدا کرده بر فلوس مس سکه میزدند

the imitation of the Chinese paper notes, there was positively no check upon the authenticity of the copper token, and no limit to the power of production by the masses at large.[1] Under such circumstances it is only strange that the new currency should have run so long a course as the three consecutive years (or one full year with portions of the first and last), the record of which we find on their surfaces. As has been already stated, when there remained no question as to the failure of the scheme, Muhammad bin Tughlak, unwillingly, perhaps, but honestly, attempted to meet the difficulty, by authorizing the reception of the copper tokens at the treasury and their exchange for full money equivalents. No scrutiny, had such been effectively practicable, was enjoined against illicit fabrications; and the sums actually exchanged may be estimated by the mounds upon mounds of brass coins which were heaped up as mere rubbish in the Fort of Tughlakáhád (Dehli), where they were still to be seen a century later, in the reign of Mubárak Sháh II.[2] It is clear that, if good money was paid for all these tokens, Muhammad bin Tughlak's temporary loan, extracted from his own subjects, must have been repaid at a more than

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[1] The Chinese evidently felt and anticipated some such result, and so avoided the evil here experienced. "It is easy to judge that there would be debasers of money in China, if the silver was coined as well as copper, since their small pieces of copper are so often counterfeited by the Chinese. Those who follow this trade mark the counterfeit coin with the same characters as are seen upon the true, but the metal they use is of a baser sort, and the weight not so good. If they happen to be discovered the crime is capital."—Du Halde, English edit. 1741, ii. 293.

[2] وان مهر مس مردود شد تا غایت در کوشک تغلقاباد چون
بشتها مانده بود MS. Táríkh Mubárak Sháhi.

So also, more explicitly, the Táríkh Budáoni adds—

و آخر مس مس و نقره نقره بود و آن سکه های مس پشته پشته

Oriental rate of interest, though possibly, in very many instances, compensation reached parties but little entitled to it.

I will now proceed to recapitulate, in brief detail, the more prominent and instructive specimens of Muhammad bin Tughlak's forced currency still extant. It will be seen that ordinarily the values attaching to the several gradational coins are specified on their surfaces, but in many cases the equivalents of the current money have to be discovered from the approximation to the old standards, in form or weight, given to the representative brass tokens. We have, in distinct terms, the 50 *káṇi* piece, the half, the quarter, as well as the 8 *káṇi* and 2 *káṇi* pieces, and a correspondent of the 175 grain *tankah* might possibly be discovered in the brass money designated as تنکه رائج "current Tankah" (No. 195), but I prefer to look upon these pieces as provided to supply the places of the modified *'adali* of 140 grains (No. 180),[1] with which they are identical in weight, and

تا زمان مبارکشاه بقول صاهب تاریخ مبارکشاهی مانده در تغلق اباد حکم سـنک داشت Calcutta text, p. 229.

Zíá Barni's account of the original incoming of the brass tokens is even more graphic.

وبدل ان مهر تنکه زر و نقره و شش گانی ودوگانی در بخانه بردند وچندان تنکۀ مس در خزانه در امد که تودها از تنکۀ مس مثل کوهها در تغلق اباد برامده ست Calcutta text, p. 476.

[1] The *'adali*, as a definite coin, first makes its appearance under Muhammad bin Tughlak, but it would seem from the following passage that its introduction was due to 'Alá-ud-dín Muhammad Sháh:—

اینک این نسبت رختست وقماش و امتعة و اقمشة که بجهة

to have been intended to pass at the same rate as the more definitely marked 50 *káṇi* piece of similar fabric. Nos. 197 and 198 may, perchance, have been designed for 40 *káṇi* pieces (as 140 : 50 :: 112 : 40), and No. 200 approximates in weight, under a similarly graduated scale of proportions, to a 20 *káṇi* piece, or the 32 *rati purána* of 56 grains, already adverted to at pp. 163, 167, and regarding which further comparisons will be found at page 221, *et seq.*

The use of the term *dirham* on Nos. 202, 203, is more difficult to explain. The word is new among the Dehli mintages, though, as will be seen hereafter, it must have been common enough in the vernacular speech of the country. Were it not that there is an expressly designated "Hasht-káṇi," it would be reasonable to suppose that these were the *dirhams* spoken of by Ibn Batutah and Sheikh Mubárak, as reckoning eight to the old *tankah* ; but as the latter coin was also in these times indifferently called a *dirham*, it is possible, in spite of the defective weight, which, however, was altogether disregarded in other cases, that these pieces may have been authoritative correspondents, in a different form, of the *'adali* or 140 grain *tankah.*

استعداد سپاهي شاه و سياهي سپاه در قلم آيد از سختيان و نرمينه
و پشمينه و چرمينه و روئينة و آئينه بيحدّ و عدّ ساخته و مهيا داشته
تا هركه هست عدلي ميداد و بقيمت عدل كالا مي خريد

Marginal note by Dehli commentator—عدلي سكه هست.

—MS. Táríkh-i-Alái of Mír Khusru.

No. 195 (pl. iv. fig. 96). Brass. Weight, 136 grs.
Daulatábád, A.H. 730. Dehli (تخت گاه), 731, 732.

من اطاع
السلطان
فقد اطاع
الرحمن

He who obeys the Sultán,
truly, he obeys God.

Margin—در تخت گاه
دولت اباد سال بر هفتصد سي

At the seat of royalty, Daulatábád, in the year 730.

مهر شد تنگه
رائج در روزگار
بنده اميدوار
محمد تغلق

Sealed as a *Tankah* current in the reign of the slave, hopeful (of mercy),
Muhammad Tughlak.

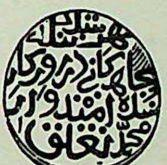
No. 196 (pl. iv. fig. 99). Brass. Weight, 132 grs.
Daulatábád, A.H. 731, 732. Very rare.

من اطاع
السلطان
فقد اطاع
الرحمن

Area. He who obeys the Sultán, truly, he obeys God.

Margin—در تخت گاه
دولت اباد سال برسی یک

At the seat of royalty, Daulatábád, in the year (7)31.



مهرشد تنکه
پنجاه کانی در روزگار
بنده امیدوار
محمد تغلق

Sealed as a *Tankah* of fifty Káṇis during the reign of the slave, hopeful (of mercy),
Muhammad Tughlak.

No. 197 (pl. iv. fig. 100). Brass. Weight, 112 grs. A.H. 730, 731.

فقد اطاع الرحمن تغلق	من اطاع السلطان محمد ٧٣٠
Truly, he obeys God. Tughlak.	He who obeys the Sultán; Muhammad, 730.

No. 198 (pl. vi. fig. 101). Brass. Weight, 112 grs.

لايولا السلطان كل الناس بعضهم بعضا تغلق	أطيعوا الله و اطيعو الرسول واولى الامر منكم محمد ٧٣٠
Sovereignty is not conferred upon every man, (but) some (are placed over) others.[1] Tughlak.	Obey God, and obey the Prophet, and those in authority among you Muhammad, 730.

No. 199. Brass. Weight, 70 grs. A.H. 730.

محمد بن تغلق	ضرب الربعى ٧٣٠
Muhammad bin Tughlak	Struck as a fourth (quarter *'adali*), 730.

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[1] Kurán, Surah iv. verse 62.

No. 200. Brass. Weight, 55 grs. A.H. 730.
(See Marsden, No. DCCXV. p. 535).

عبد	حسبى
محمد بن	ربى ۷۳۰
تغلق	Sufficientia mea Dominus est.

Kurán, iii. 167. حسبُنا الله و نَعْمَ الوكيلُ

Fræhn (Recensio, p. 115) has an example of a coin of Núh bin Mansúr, struck at Bokhárá, in A.H. 376, with حسبى الله on the top of the area.

No. 201 (pl. iv. fig. 104). Brass. Weight, 72 grs. Rare.

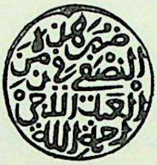
	تنكهٔ زر
Centre—محمد	جائز در عهد
تغلق	بنده اميدوار
Margin—श्रीः मोहमद . .	محمد تغلق
Ṣrih Mohamad . .	Money *Tankah* current in the reign of the slave, hopeful (etc.), Muhammad Tughlak.

No. 202 (pl. iv. fig. 105). Weight, 80 grs. Stacey collection. *Unpublished.* Daulatábád, A.H. 730. Dehli (حضرة) A.H. 730, 732. Dehli (دارالملك) A.H. 730. Dehli (دارالاسلام) A.H. 730.

بدار الا سلام	ضرب الدرهم
في سنه ثلثين	الشرعي فى زمن
وسبعمايه	العبد محمد بن
	تغلق
At the seat of Islám, in the year, 730.	Struck as a lawful *dirham* in the time of the slave, Muhammad bin Tughlak.

No. 203. حضرة دهلي, A.H. 730, 732. (No less than three selected specimens of these latter mintages exactly *touch* the 80 grains).

No. 204. Copper. Weight, 103 grs. Unique. Daulatábád, A.H. 730. *Násfi.*

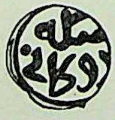


محمد بن تغلق	ضرب هذه
بحضرة دولت اباد	النصفي في زمن
	العبد الرجي
سنه ثلثين و سبعمايه	رحمة الله
Muhammad bin Tughlak, at the capital, Daulatábád, year 730.	This half-piece (was) struck during the time of the slave, trusting in the mercy of God.

No. 205. Brass. Weight, 53 grs. Rare. *Hashtkáṇi.*

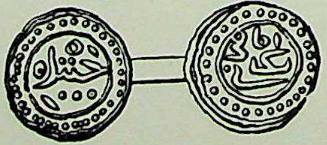
محمد	عدل
تغلق	هشتکانی

No. 206. Variety. Weight, 25 grs. Rare. *Dokáṇi.*



محمد	سکه
تغلق	دوکانی

No. 207. Copper. Weight, 74 grs. Gen. Cunningham. Unique.



جَیتِلْ	امانی
A *Jaitil.*	یکانی
	The equivalent of one *káṇi.*

No. 208 (pl. iv. fig. 107). Copper. Weight, 53 grs. A.H. 732.

Centre—محمد تغلق	الملك
Margin—سال بر هفتصد سی دو	و العزة لله
In the year 732.	Dominion and glory are of God.

There are very few specimens of the exclusively copper coins of Muhammad bin Tughlak; the copper currency *proper* seems to have been confined to the three examples quoted below (Nos. 209, 210, 211), but in many cases dies intended for the small silver coins, and the less marked and declaratory legends of the forced currency, seem to have been employed to stamp copper, which, in the fullness of its weight, carried its own value in the market, irrespective of any especial superscription.

No. 209. Copper. Weight, 68 grs.

Obverse—السلطان ظل الله The Sultán, shadow of God.

Reverse—محمد بن تغلقشاه Muhammad bin Tughlak Sháh.

No. 210. Copper. Weight, 53 grs. Col. Stacey. A.H. 730.

Obverse—الواثق بعصر الله ٧٣٠

Reverse—محمد بن تغلق شاه

No. 211. Copper. Weight, 54 grs. Rare.[1]

Obverse—محمد

Reverse—تغلقشاه

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[1] Ibn Batutah has preserved a curious record of the legends inscribed upon the coinage of the *Sherif* Jalál-ud-dín Aḥsan Sháh, commandant in Malabar (معبر) who threw off his allegiance to Muhammad bin Tughlak, and issued money bearing his own name in 742 A.H.

و ضرب الدنانير و الدراهم باسمه و كان يكتب في احدي صفحتي

We have seen with what Numismatic honours Altamsh welcomed the santification of his new kingdom of the East by the reigning Khalif of Baghdád in 626 A.H. Within thirty years of that date the office of the chief Pontiff of the Muslim world was destined to be extinguished in the person of Mustanṣir's successor, the unhappy Must'asim, who was so cruelly put to death by Hulákú Khán, on the capture of the city of the Faith, in 656 A.H. With all the Barbarian superstition that hesitated to shed what was esteemed sacred blood, the conqueror did not scruple to crush into one unseemly mass the bones of his victim,[1] coincidently with the surrender of the inoffensive inhabitants of the favoured city, estimated at 800,000 persons, to the wanton slaughter of the Mughal troops. While the throne of the Khalifs became but an idle symbol, and the centre of Islám was converted into a ghastly camp of Nomads, the latest Muhammadan conquest "in partibus infidelium" must have been singularly

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الدينار سلالة طه ويس ابو الفقرآء و المساكين جلال الدنيا و الدين و
في الصفحة الاخري الواثق بتاييد الرحمان احسن شاه السلطان

Et frappa en son propre nom des monnaies d'or et d'argent. Sur un des côtés des dínárs il avait gravé les mots suivants: Le progéniture de *Thá-há* et *Yá-sín* (ces lettres, qui constituent les titres de deux chapitres du Korán, le xx^e^ et le xxxvi, sont du nombre des épithètes qu'on donne à Mahomet), le père des fakírs et des indigents, *Jellal ud duniá wa ud dín*. Et sur l'autre face: Celui qui met sa confiance dans le secours du Miséricordieux, *Aḥsan Sháh Sultán*.—Paris edition, iii. 328. Ferishtah, i. 423.

[1] The Habíb us Siyar says, "The captives were wrapped up in coarse hair blankets, and in that state rolled backwards and forwards on the ground with such force and violence that every joint and articulation of their frames was either smashed or wrought asunder."—Price's Muhammadan History, ii. p. 222. Novaïri, quoted by D'Ohsson (iii. 243), says they were tied up in sacks and trodden under foot by horses. One incident in the general extermination is remarkable, the Christians were unreservedly spared; the Nestorian Church constituted, without challenge, their city of refuge (iii. 339, 241).—Abul Faraj, 339.

ignorant of, or strangely indifferent to, the events that affected their newly-conceded allegiance, as the name of the martyred Must'asim was retained on the Dehli coinage for some forty years after his death. Rukn-ud-dín Ibrahím, the twelfth king, is the first to discontinue the practice, when, after the murder of Fírúz in the camp of 'Alá-ud-dín, the party in power at Dehli elevated the boy-king, they denominated his father ناصراميرالمومنين, a title which Altamsh had affected in early days (see Inscriptions G and H, pp. 80 and 155 *suprà*). 'Alá-ud-dín Muhammad Sháh assumed the designation of يمين الخلافة, Right hand of the Khalifat (coin No. 130, etc.; inscription O, p. 173); but Mubárak, more distinctly, calls himself Khalífah[1] (the most mighty Imám, Khalífah of the Lord of the two worlds); and his capital, *Dár ul Khiláfat*, "seat of the Khalífah;" and even goes so far as to adopt, in addition to the خليفه الله (Vicegerent of God), the spiritual title of *Al Wáṣiḳ billah* (p. 181). The converted Hindu *Khusrú* likewise affects, in a subdued degree, the attributes of a leader of Islám, styling himself الواثق خيرالرحمن ولى امير المومنين "The relying upon the goodness of the All-merciful, successor[2] of the Commander of the Faithful." Ghiás-ud-dín Tughlak Sháh, with higher claims, seems to have been a much more humble Muhammadan, for he delights in such designations as "the Testifier," "the *Ghází*," "Champion of the Faith," etc. The son, Muhammad, is even more modest in his titles, but largely affects quotations from the Kurán. Later in his reign (741

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[1] So also, in later days, Akbar introduced the new formula of لااله الاالله و الاكبر خليفه الله, "There is no god but God, and *the* Akbar is his Vicegerent."—Wilson's Works, ii. 391.

[2] The term ولى has an extended range of meanings. The reference here seems to be to Mubárak as Khalif.

A.H.) his religious sentiments asserted themselves more definitively, and scruples having arisen in his mind as to the imperfection of his own title to the sovereignty—unconfirmed as it was by sacerdotal sanction[1]—he sought to remedy this defect by soliciting the patent of the then representative of the line of the Abbassite Khalifs, whose immediate predecessors had so fallen from the ancient high estate as to accept a palace and a pension from the Sultán of Egypt. In anticipation of the receipt of such acknowledgment, Muhammad bin Tughlak discontinued the use of his own name on the coinage,[1] and supplanted it by that of *Al-mustakfi billah*, whose designation appears on the Indian coins minted in 741, 742, and 743 A.H.; while the later periods are marked by that of his son, *Al Hakim b'amr illah Abú al Abbás Ahmad.*

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[1] "When the Sultán returned to Dehli, it occurred to his mind that no king or prince could exercise regal power without confirmation by the *Khalífah* of the race of 'Abbás, and that every king who had, or should hereafter reign, without such confirmation, had been, or would be, overpowered. The Sultán made diligent inquiries from many travellers about the *Khalífahs* of the line of 'Abbás, and he learned that the representatives of the line of 'Abbás were the *Khalífahs* of Egypt. So he and his ministers and advisers came to an understanding with the *Khalífah* that was in Egypt, and while the Sultán was at Sarg-dwárí he sent despatches to him about many things. When he returned to the city he stopped the prayers of the Sabbath and the *'Ids.* He had his own name and style removed from his coins, and that of the *Khalífah* substituted; and his flatteries of the *Khalífah* were so fulsome that they cannot be reduced to writing. In the year 744 A.H. (1343 A.D.), Háji Sa'íd Sarsari came to Dehli, from Egypt, bringing to the Sultán honours and a robe from the *Khalífah*. The Sultán, with all his nobles and *saiyids* and . . . , went forth to meet the Háji with great ceremony, . . . and he walked before him barefoot for the distance of some long bow-shots. . . . From that date permission was given, that out of respect the *Khalífah's* name should be repeated in the prayers for Sabbaths and holydays, ... and it was also ordered that in mentioning the names of the kings in the *khutba* they should be declared to have reigned under the authority and confirmation of the Abbásí *Khalífahs*. The names of those kings who had not received such confirmation were to be removed from the *khutba*, and the kings were to be declared to be superseded (*mutaghallab*). . . . The name of the *Khalífah* was ordered to be inscribed on lofty buildings, and no other name besides. . . . The Sultán directed that a letter acknowledging his subordination to the *Khalífah* should be sent by the hands of Háji Rajab Barka'i . . and after two years of correspondence the Háji returned from Egypt, bringing a diploma in the name of the Sultán, as deputy of the *Khalífah*."—Elliot's Historians, iii. 249; text, 491. Ibn Batutah, i. 363; Ferishtah, Briggs, i. 426.

The following is a list of the earlier Egyptian Khalifs, taken from Abúl Faraj. There is a conflict of testimony as to the accuracy of the succession in some instances, and still more uncertainty in regard to the precise dates of accession, etc.[2] In short, their own obscurity extended to their history;[3] but as the authoritative names are the chief matter of importance in the present inquiry, I have not thought it necessary to sift in detail the mass of contradictory testimony under its local aspect.

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[1] This is a very odd phase of Muhammad bin Tughlak's progressive thought. So little occasion does there seem to have been, at the moment, for any such disturbing idea, as far as the associations of proximate kingdoms extended, that the Sultán had to examine all sorts of stray travellers to discover where a scion of the old house could be found, as Ziá Barni, a contemporary Indian biographer, says—
سلطان از بسیار تتبع میکرد تا از بسیار مسافران شنید که خلیفه
Calcutta text, p. ۴۹۶. از ال عباس در مصر بر خلافت متمکن است
Though all this feeling may well have arisen out of new and more advanced studies of his own religion, or descriptions by the Western visitors at his own Court of the bye-gone glories of the supreme Pontiffs of the Muslim world, who had more or less swayed the destinies of the East for five centuries, and whose extermination was so intimately associated with one of India's perpetual grievances, the success of the Mughals, who were ever threatening the gates of Dehli. Later, in point of time, Muhammad bin Tughlak secured as a visitor at his own Court a scion of the line of Abbás, in the person of Ghiás-ud-dín Muhammad, a son of a *great-grandson* of the Khalif of Baghdád, *Al Mustanṣir billah*, and he seems almost to have regretted his hasty adhesion to the Egyptian branch, for, after loading his guest with all manner of inconsistent honours, he naïvely confessed to him that had he not already pledged his faith to the African Khalif, he would have sworn allegiance to him; in short, have secured a submissive Khalif of his own.—Ibn Batutah, iii. 258, etc.

[2] Abúl Faraj himself gives a great many optional statements from other authorities, while M. de Guignes series differs very materially both in the order of succession and dates of events from the present list (Hist. des Huns. i. 332).

[3] Les Mamelucs ou Sultáns d'Egypte, qui avoient fait ces Khalifes ce qu'ils étoient en les reconnoissant pour tels, les faisoient et les defaisoient selon leur

THE EGYPTIAN KHALIFS.

1 المستنصر بالله ابو القسم احمد بن الظاهر بالله العباسي

Inaugurated 9th Rajab, 659 A.H.

2 الحاكم بامر الله ابو العباس احمد

Inaugurated Zí'l hijjah, 660 A.H.

3 المستكفي بالله ابو الربيع سليمان ابن الحاكم بامر الله

Inaugurated Jumáda'l awwal, 701 A.H.

4 الواثق بالله ابراهيم بن محمد المستمسك

Inaugurated 740 A.H.

5 الحاكم بامر الله ابو العباس احمد بن المستكفي بالله

Proclaimed 741 A.H.

6 ابو الفتح المعتضد بالله ابوبكر ابن المستكفي بالله

Proclaimed 753 A.H.

7 المتوكل علي الله ابوعبدالله محمد بن المعتضد

Inaugurated Jumáda'l ákhir, 763 A.H.

8 الواثق ابو حفص عمر ابن المعتصم ابراهيم بن المستمسك

Inaugurated 785 A.H.

9 المعتصم بالله ابو يحيي زكريا ابن المعتصم ابراهيم

Inaugurated 788 A.H.

10 المتوكل (*restored*)

Inaugurated 791 AH.

11 المستعين بالله ابو الفضل العباس بن المتوكل على الله

Inaugurated Sh'abán, 808 A.H.

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bon plaisir. . . . Mais nonobstant l'autorite que les Sultáns d'Egypte exerçoient sur ces Khalifes, néanmoins les mêmes Sultáns se servoient d'eux pour se faire confirmer et autoriser auprès les peuples," etc.—D'Herbelot, *sub voce*, "Khalifah."

Coins struck in the name of the Egyptian Khalifs.

No. 212. *Gold.* Weight, 163·5 grs. (A worn coin, with imperfectly executed legends.) A second, 167 grs. DEHLI, 741, 742, 743.[1]

ضرب هذاالدينار	في زمان الامام المستكفي
الخليفتي الدهلي في شهور	بالله امير المومنين ابو الربيع
سنه احدي اربعين وسبعماية	سليمان خلد الله خلافته

Al Mustakfi Billah, *Abú al rabí'a Sulaimán*, Khalif of Egypt (No. 3 of the above list), A.H. 701 to 740.

No. 213 (pl. iii. fig. 86). *Gold.* Weight, 170 (171·0, 169·4) grs.

في زمان الامام	الله ابو
امير المومنين	العباس احمد
الحاكم بامر	خلد ملكه

Al Ḥákim b'amr illah, Abú al Abbás, Ahmad, Khalif of Egypt (No. 5 of the above list), A.H. 741 to 753.

No. 214. Silver. Weight, 55 grs. Rare. A.H. 743.

Obverse—خليفه الله في شهور

Reverse—المستكفي بالله ۷۴۳

No. 215 (pl. iii. fig. 109). Silver and copper. Weight, 132 grs.

No. 215*a*. Major Stubbs. Weight, 138 grs. Daulatábád, A.H. 744.

Obverse—الامام الاعظم خليفه الله في العالمين ۷۴۴

Reverse—السمتكفي بالله امير المومنين

Margin—ضرب هذه الـ دولتاباد سنه اربع و اربعين و سبعمايه

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[1] See also Frœhn's Recensio, p. 177.

No. 216. Copper. Weight, 55 grs. A.H. 742, 743.

Obverse—خليفه الله في شهور

Reverse—المستكفي بالله ٧٤٢

No. 217. Copper. A.H. 742.

Obverse—الله الكفي في شهور

Reverse—والخليفه المستكفي ٧٤٢

No. 218 (pl. iii. fig. 110). Copper. Weight, 128 grs.
A.H. 748, 749, 750, 751.

Obverse—الحاكم بامر الله سنه ٧٤٨

Reverse—ابو العباس احمد

No. 219. Brass. Weight, 55 grs. Rare. A.H. 748.
Similar legends.

Having completed the description of the coins of Muhammad bin Tughlak, I append a list of the prices of commodities at Dehli, towards the end of his reign, furnished to the author of the Masálik al Abṣár by his Egyptian informants:—

Wheat	1½ *hashtkáṇi* the *man*.
Barley	1 ,, ,,
Common Rice	1¾ ,, ,,
Peas (حمص).	½ ,, ,,
Sugar..............................	1 *hashtkáṇi* for five *sirs*.
Sugar Candy (النبات)......	1 ,, four ,,
Fat Sheep, superior quality,	1 *tankah* or 8 *hashtkáṇis* each.
Oxen in good condition......	2 *tankahs* each.

Muhammad bin Tughlak does not seem to have concerned himself with inscriptions, hence the only mention of his name in such documents is to be found in the Hindi Inscription of Chunár (p. 195 *ante*), and an incidental record in Devanagari characters, on the third story of the Kutb Minár, designating him as *Muhammad Sultán*, with the annexed date of *Samvat* 1382 = 1325 A.D.[1] His public works at Dehli were confined to the erection of the detached Fort of *'A'dilábád*, otherwise called *Muhammadábád*, at the south-east corner of Tughlakábád, with the *Satpalah*, or "seven-arched" dike, between Chirágh Dehli and Khirki and the complete fortification of the suburbs of Dehli, enclosing the space from the Kutb by Khirki, Chirágh Dehli, Shápúr, etc. (the "Cutub Lath Kherhee, Chiragh Dilhee, and Shahpor," of the accompanying map), and forming an *enceinte* of five miles, pierced with thirteen gates in the curtains alone, and well known in history by the title of *Jahán-panáh*,[2] "asylum of the world."

BENGAL COINS.

I revert, for the last time, to the money of the kings of Bengal. Ilíás Sháh, the eighth of those who exercised the privilege of coining, either as Viceroys or temporarily independent Sovereigns, succeeded in emancipating himself from all interference on the part of the Sultáns of Dehli; so that from this period the kingdom of Bengal ceases to have either monetary or historical associations with the empire of the north, which are only renewed on Shír Sháh's conquest of Hindústán, nearly two centuries after Fírúz's abortive expedition in A.H. 754.

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[1] Cunningham, Arch. Report, 1862–3, p. 35.

[2] Ibn Batutah, iii. 147; Timur-Beo. M. de la Croix, book iv. cap. xx., coins of Shír Sháh, *infrà;* Syud Ahmad, pp. 22, 31; Dehli Archæological Society's Journal, 1853, map, p. 58, etc.; Cunningham, 42; C. J. Campbell, J.A.S. Bengal, 1866, p. 119, etc.

V. FAKHR-UD-DÍN MUBÁRAK SHÁH.

On the departure of Muhammad bin Tughlak from Bengal, Tátár Khán, honorarily entitled *Bahrám Khán*, an adopted son of Ghiás-ud-dín Tughlak, seems to have been left in charge of the provinces included in the government of Sunárgáon, while the Lakhnauti division of the kingdom was entrusted to ملك بيدار خلجي, surnamed *Ḳadr Khán*.[1] Neither of these rulers' names are to be found on the local coinage. As mere governors on the part of the Sultán, they were, of course, not entitled to issue money bearing their own names. On the death of Bahrám Khán,[2] which is stated to have taken place in 739, but may probably have to be antedated to 737, Fakhr-ud-dín Mubárak, his *Siláhdár*, took possession of the government, and proclaimed his independence.[1] He was in the first instance defeated by the troops sent against him from Lakhnauti, but finally succeeded in maintaining his authority, and, as the coins prove, in retaining his hold on Sunárgáon and its dependencies throughout the nine years, from 741 to 750 A.H., comparatively undisturbed. The history of the period is confused, and the dates given by the native authors prove of little value;[2] but the coins establish the fact that in 751 another ruler, designated *Ikhtiár-ud-dín* Ghází Sháh, presided over the Mints of Eastern Bengal.

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[1] There is some difficulty about the identity of this Ḳadr Khán, as it is just possible that the بيدار may prove to be a mistranscription of بغده or بغره. The earliest notice of this personage under the associate names and titles above given is to be found in the Taríkh-i Mubárak Sháhi, where, on Muhammad bin Tughlak's accession, Malik Bandár Khilji is stated to have been appointed to Lakhnauti. The passage is as follows:—

ملك بندار خلجي قدرِخان شد و اقطاع لكهنوتي يافت ملك حسام الدين ابورجارا نظام الملكي و وزارت لكهنوتي داد

See also Ferishtah, text, i. 237; Briggs, i. 412, 423; J.R.A.S., N.S., ii. 195.

[2] "About this time the rebellion of Fakhrá broke out in Bengal, after the death of Bahrám Khán (Governor of Sunár-gáon). Fakhrá and his Bengali forces killed Ḳadr Khán (Governor of Lakhnauti), and cut his wives and family and dependents to pieces. He then plundered the treasures of Lakhnauti, and secured possession of that place and of Sat-gáon and Sunár-gáon. These places were thus lost to the imperial throne, and falling into the hands of Fakhrá and other rebels were not recovered."—Elliot's Historians, iii. 242.

Fakhr-ud-dín Mubárak Sháh.

No. 220 (pl. iv. fig. 151, and pl. vi. fig. 7). Silver. Weight, 166·0 grs. Sunárgáon, A.H. 737,—741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750.

السلطان الاعظم
فخر الدنيا و الدين
ابو المظفر مباركشاه
السلطان

يمين خليفه الله
ناصر امير
المومنين

Margin—
ضرب هذة السكة بحضرة جلال سنارکانو سنة سبع و ثلثين و سبعماية

The specimen engraved in pl. vi. fig. 7 is unique in date, and varies in the opening legend of the reverse from the less rare coins of later years, which commence with يمين الخليفة.

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[1] Nizám-ud-dín Ahmad says Mubárak killed Bahrám Khán, while Abul Fazl affirms that Mubárak put Ḳadr Khán to death.—Áín-i-Akbari, ii. 21.

[2] Ferishtah, text, i. 237, 244. Briggs, i. pp. 412, 423; iv. 328. Stewart's History of Bengal, pp. 80, 83.

VI. 'ALÁ-UD-DÍN 'ALI SHÁH.

'Ali Sháh, whom Muhammadan writers, by a strange jumble, have endowed with the surname of his adversary, Mubárak, and ordinarily refer to as "'Ali Mubárak,"[1] assumed kingship on the death of Ḳadr Khán, Muhammad Tughlak's representative at Lakhnauti, entitling himself 'Alá-ud-dín. The more important incidents of his reign are confined to his hostilities with his rival, Fakhr-ud-dín Mubárak of Sunárgáon, who possessed advantages in his maritime resources, while the rivers remained navigable for large vessels during the rainy season, but which were more than counterbalanced by 'Ali Sháh's power on land, which availed him for the greater part of the year, and which finally enabled him to establish his undisputed rule in the western provinces.

His coins exhibit dates ranging from 742 to 746 A.H., and bear the impress of the new mint of the metropolis, Fírúzábád, an evidence of a change in the royal residence, which clearly implies something more than a mere removal to a new site proximate to the old Lakhnauti, whose name is henceforth lost sight of, and may be taken to indicate a strategetic transfer of the Court to the safer and less exposed locality of the future capital, Pandua.[2] 'Ali Sháh is stated to have been assassinated by his foster brother, Háji Iliás.[3]

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[1] Budáoni MS. Ferishtah, iv. 329. Stewart, p. 82. Áín-i-Akbari, ii. 21.

[2] Stewart, speaking of Fírúz's advance against Iliás, says, "The Emperor advanced to a place now called Feroseporeábad, where he pitched his camp, and commenced the operations of the siege of Pundua" (p. 84). There is a *Mahal* Fírúzpúr in *Sircar* Tandah, noticed in the Áín-i-Akbari, ii. p. 2. See also the note from Shams-i Siráj, quoted below (page 268), under the notice of Iliás Sháh's reign.

[3] Stewart's History of Bengal, p. 83.

'Alá-ud-dín 'Ali Sháh.

No. 221 (pl. vi. fig. 8). Silver. Weight, 166·7 grs. Rare.
Fírúzábád, *742*, 744, 745, 746. Type as usual.

السلطان الاعظم	سكندر الزمان
علاء الدنيا و الدين	المخصوص
ابوا المظفر عليشاه	بعنايت الرحمن ناصر
السلطان	امير المومنين

Margin—

ضرب هذالفضة السكه في البلدة فيروزاباد سنة اثني اربعين و سيعماية

VII. IKHTÍÁR-UD-DÍN GHÁZÍ SHÁH.

At the period of this king's accession to the sovereignty of Sunárgáon in A.H. 750 or 751, we lose the aid of our most trustworthy recorder of the annals of Bengal during his own time. The conclusion of Ibn Batutah's narrative leaves Fakhr-ud-dín Mubárak still in power, while the native authorities are clearly at fault in their arrangement of dates and events, and altogether silent as to any change in the succession in Eastern Bengal, except in their allusions to the more than problematical capture of Fakhr-ud-dín and his execution by "'Ali Mubárak" in 743 A.H., with the final accession of Iliás "one year and five months afterwards."[1]

The numismatic testimony would seem to show that Mubárak was succeeded by his own *son*, as the *Ul Sultán bin Ul Sultán* may be taken to imply. The immediately consecutive dates, and the absolute identity of the fabric of the coins, as well as the retention of the style of Right-hand of the Khalifat on the reverse, alike connect the two princes; while the cessation of the issues of Ghází Sháh simultaneously with the acquisition of Sunárgáon by Iliás in A.H. 753, would seem to point to the gradual spread of the power of the latter, which is stated to have been at its zenith just before Fírúz III. assailed him in his newly-consolidated monarchy in 754.[1]

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[1] Stewart's History of Bengal, p. 83.

Ikhtiár-ud-dín Ghází Sháh.

No. 222 (pl. vi. fig. 9). Silver. Weight, 166 grs. Very rare indeed. Three coins. *Col. Guthrie.* Sunárgáon, 751–753.

السلطان الاعظم	يمين الخليفة
اختيار الدنيا و الدين	ناصر امير
ابو المظفر غازيشاه	المومنين
السلطان بن السلطان	

Margin—

ضرب هذه السكه بحضرة جلال سناركانو سنه احدي و خمسين وسبعماية

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[1] Shams-i Siráj, speaking on hearsay, affirms that Shams-ud-dín Iliás captured and slew Fakhr-ud-dín after Fírúz III.'s first expedition into Bengal, and that the main object of the latter's second invasion of that province was for the purpose of re-asserting the rights of Zafar Khán, the son-in-law of Fakhr-ud-dín (who had fled for protection to Dehli), to the kingdom of Eastern Bengal. It is asserted that although Fírúz succeeded in obtaining this concession from Sikandar, who, in the interval, had succeeded to his father's throne, Zafar Khán himself was wise enough to decline the dangerous proximity to so powerful a rival monarch, and returned in the suite of the Sultán. The Bengálí troops, under Zafar Khán, subsequently distinguished themselves in an opposite quarter of India, near Thatta, and their commander was eventually left in charge of Gujarat. —Shams-i Siráj, book ii. cap 9, etc. See also Journal Archæological Society of Dehli (Major Lewis's abstract translation), 1849, p. 15, and Elliot's Historians, iii. p. 329.

The Taríkh-i Mubárak Sháhi (dedicated to Mubárak II.), the concluding date of which is 838 A.H., also declares that Háji Iliás killed Fakhr-ud-dín in 741 A.H.

VIII. SHAMS-UD-DÍN ILÍÁS SHÁH.

The modern application of old coins divides itself into two branches—the suggestive development of obscure tradition, and the enlargement and critical revision of accepted history. The transition point between these archæological functions, in the present series, declares itself in the accession of Ilíás Sháh, the first recognized and effectively independent Muslim Sultán of Bengal, the annals of whose reign have been so often imperfectly reproduced in prefatory introduction to the relation of the magnificent future his successors were destined to achieve as holders of the interests and the commercial prosperity of the Delta of the Ganges, to whose heritage, indeed, England owes its effective ownership of the continent of India at the present day.

The compiler of the English version of the early history of Bengal[1] adopts the conclusion that Hájí Ilíás first obtained power on the assassination of "'Ali Mubárak" in 745–6, but the previous rectification of the independent personality and status of the two individuals thus singularly absorbed into one, will prepare the reader for the corrections involved, though not, perhaps, for the apparent anomalies the coins disclose. Medallic testimony would seem to indicate a long waging of hostile interests between the real 'Ali Sháh and Hájí Ilíás before the latter attained his final local triumph; for although Ilíás is seen to have coined money in Fírúzábád in 740 A.H., the chance seems to have been denied him in 741; and in 742 his adversary, 'Ali Sháh, is found in full possession of the mint in question. The Kooch Bahár hoard

This last date is a manifest error; as is also, probably, the omission, by both authors, of the words *son of* before the name of Fakhr-ud-dín.

[1] Stewart, p. 83.

reveals no coin of either party dated 743, but in 744 the two again compete for ownership, which 'Ali Sháh for the time being continues through 745 into 746, when the annual series is taken up and carried on successively for an uninterrupted twelve years by his more favoured opponent. It is needless to speculate on the varying course of these individual triumphs; suffice it to say, that the increasing power of the ruler of Pandua, in 754, excited the Emperor Fírúz III. to proceed against him in all the pomp and following of an Oriental Suzerain, resulting only in the confession of weakness, conveniently attributed to the periodical flooding of the country[1]—which effectively laid the foundation of the ulti-

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[1] Stewart felt a difficulty about the right position of *Akdálah*, the real point of attack, and a place of considerable importance in the local history of Bengal. The following is Ziá Barni's description of the place, taken from the concluding chapters of his history on the occasion of Fírúz Sháh's (III.) invasion of Bengal in 754 A.H. :—

واکداله نام موضعي است نزدیک پنڈوه که یک طرف آن آب
است و طرف دوم جنگل است دران اکداله تحصین کرد و از پنڈوه
مردم کارآمده‌را با زن بچه در اکداله برد P. 588, printed edit.

Rennell gives another Akdallah north of Dacca. "Map of Hindoostan."

In the following passage Shams-i Siráj desires to make it appear that Fírúz III. gave his *own* name to the city of Pandua; but, as we have seen that the designation was applied to the new capital either in 740 or 742—that is, long before Fírúz became king of Dehli—it will be preferable to conclude that the name was originally bestowed in honour of the Shams-ud-dín Fírúz of Bengal, No. II. of the Bengal series (p. 193 *ante*). The quotation is otherwise of value, as it establishes, beyond a doubt, the true position of the new metropolis :—

(فیروز شاه) در پنڈوه رسید در آن مقام خطبه بنام حضرت فیروز
شاه خواندند و نام شهر فیوز آباد نهادند چون سلطان فیروز شاه
اکداله را آزادپور نام کرد و شهر پندوه را فیروز آباد * * * (hence the)
آزادپور عرف اکداله و فیروز آباد عرف پنڈوه

mate independence of Bengal,—a monarchy which was destined so to grow in power and material wealth as to be competent, indirectly, in the person of Shír Sháh, to recover for the old Muhammadan interest the cherished capitals of the north, and, temporarily, to eject from Hindustán the Mughals who too hastily boasted of an easily-achieved conquest of the country "from Bhíra to Bahár."

Ilíás Sháh's dates and mint cities may be summarized as follows: 1. Fírúzábád, A.H. 740, 744, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758. 2. Sunárgáon, A.H. 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758.

TWENTIETH KING (A.H. 752–790; A.D. 1351–1388).

On the 24th of Muharram, A.H. 752, Fírúz bin Rajab presented himself before the retreating army of his cousin, in State parade, on an elephant, wearing the robes of Sovereignty over the funereal garments, which he insisted upon retaining in honour of his deceased relative; and his formal inauguration was completed by the subdued ceremony of his coronation by the surviving sister of Muhammad bin Tughlak, with the tiara of his two predecessors. His elevation to the throne was not, however, altogether unopposed, as Khwájah-i Jahán, the minister in charge of Dehli, crediting the reported death of Fírúz, had innocently set up a supposititious son of Muhammad bin Tughlak. Eventually, Khwájah-i Jahán met the Sultán, on his approach to the capital, with every confession of penitence, which Fírúz was only too ready to accept; but the leading nobles insisting upon the necessity of punishment for so grave an offence, the unfortunate minister was sacrificed to political expediency.[1]

Notably different from his energetic predecessor, Fírúz seems to have been a very weak character, addicted to wine, devoted to the chase,[2] credulous, but amiable and merciful withal to an extent that, in less quiet times, might have proved disadvantageous,[3]—a man who would select a governor by a *fál* in the Kurán,[4] and who, after having laboriously conducted his armies to the encounter, would withdraw them in the hour of victory from a desire to save the shedding of the blood of the Faithful.[1] His generalship in his two campaigns to Bengal, and his eventual reduction of Tattah, seems to have been of the lowest order; and the way that he allowed himself to be deluded into the deserts of Cutch,[2] or the defiles of Jájnagar, seems to savour of positive fatuity.[3] His kindness of heart led him to introduce many measures for the amelioration of the condition of his subjects, which, though often of very doubtful expediency, were clearly well intentioned in their inception, and based upon a very complete knowledge of the condition of the country, of which he was not only a native,[4] but, by the mother's side, of good

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[1] There is something pathetic in the story of his execution as told by Shams-i Siráj 'Afíf. "Khwájah-i Jahán was more than eighty years old. His frame was wasted and feeble, and his hair was white. He was a kind-hearted man." On his dismissal by the Sultán, he was led to suppose that he was to pass the remainder of his days in retirement at Samána, but on the way the messenger of death overtook him, and he readily divined his fate. "Next day he asked Shír Khán for some tents, into one of which he went, performed his ablutions, and said his prayers; . . . he then looked at his executioner, and asked if he had a sharp sword; and the executioner, who was a friend of the Khwájah's, showed his weapon. The old man then told him to make his ablutions, say his prayers, and use his sword. When the man had completed his devotions, the Khwájah bowed his head to his prayer-carpet, and while the name of God was on his lips his friend severed his head from his body."—Elliot's Historians, iii. 286.

[2] "His special biographer sees nothing but virtue in Fírúz's order that the district of Anwálah should be retained waste for hunting purposes, otherwise it would quickly have become peopled and cultivated under the prosperous and fostering government of Fírúz" (iii. 353).

[3] "In the whole of these forty years (of Fírúz's reign) not one leaf of dominion was shaken in the palace of sovereignty" (iii. 289).

[4] "The Sultán never transacted any business without referring to the Kurán for an augury" (iii. 329). Here is an instance of his superstition given under his own hand—"Under the guidance of the Almighty I arranged that the heirs of those persons who had been executed in the reign of my late lord and patron, Sultán Muhammad Sháh, and those who had been deprived of a limb, nose, eye, hand, or foot, should be reconciled to the late Sultán, and be made content with gifts, so that they executed deeds declaring their satisfaction, duly attested by witnesses. These deeds were put into a chest,

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which was placed in the *Dáru-l ámán* at the head of the tomb of the late Sultán, in the hope that God, in his great clemency, would show mercy to my late friend and patron, and make those persons feel reconciled to him."—Futúhát-i Fírúz Sháh, Elliot's Historians, iii. p. 385; Briggs's Ferishtah, i. 464; Syud Ahmad's Work, p. 29; Jour. Asiatique, 1860, p. 401.

[1] "He sent a trusty man across the river with orders directing his forces to desist from battle and return to him."—Elliot's Historians, iii. 332. So also p. 297.

[2] "The guides who led the way and conducted them had maliciously misled them into a place called the Rann of Cutch" (iii. 324).

[3] "For six months no news of the Sultán reached Dehli" (iii. 315).

[4] Those who would follow up the inquiry in more detail may be referred to Professor Dowson's exhaustive translation of Shams-i Siráj 'Afíf, printed in vol. iii. of Elliot's Historians. The following are the leading items:—

1. The system, condemned by the wiser 'Alá-ud-dín, of assignments of revenue in the form of *Jágírs* in lieu of direct payments (iii. pp. 289, 328, 346).

2. Credit given for the value of *Nuzrána* presented at Court in the accounts of the feudatories (p. 340, also 357).

3. The assessment of 10 per cent. on the total outlay, or the cost price of the canals, as a rent-charge for the use of the irrigation water by the agriculturists (p. 301).

4. Separation of the private income of the Sultán from the State accounts (p. 302). See also p. 357.

5. The curious and only obscurely explained policy of collecting and employing organized bodies of slaves (p. 340).

6. Government gardens, and profits derived therefrom (p. 345)

Rájpút blood;[1] while his *vizír* and confidential adviser was himself a well-born Hindú of Tilingana,[2] whose son inherited his administrative functions in A.H. 772.[3] The second *Khán-i*

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7. Fírúz's determination to circumscribe his dominions, but to develop more fully their resources.

8. Revenues of the kingdom incidentally detailed at 60,850,000 *tankahs*, or £6,085,000. The revenues of the Doáb (of the Ganges and Jumna) alone placed at 8,000,000, or £800,000 (p. 346).

9. Amplification of the divisions of the coinage (p. 357). See also p. 277 *infrà*.

10. The cities, forts, palaces, *annicuts* (*bands*), mosques, tombs, and caravanserais (or *khánkáhs*) built by Fírúz (p. 354); also Ferishtah, i. 465.

11. Aid to the unemployed (p. 355).

12. Marriage portions for the daughters of needy Muslims (p. 361).

13. The institution of State hospitals for *all* classes, native or foreign (p. 361).

14. (A.H. 777). Abolition of vexatious taxes of various kinds (p. 363). *Total* loss to the State estimated at 3,000,000 *tankahs*, or £300,000 (p. 364). These cesses are more fully detailed under Fírúz's own hand at p. 377 from his Futúhát-i Fírúz Sháhi. See also Briggs's Ferishtah, i. p. 463.

15. Poll-tax levied on the Brahmins, who had hitherto been exempted. The full rate of the tax (the *Jiziah*) was 40 *tankahs*, 20 *tankahs*, and 10 *tankahs*, according to the several classes; but the Sultán reduced the demand on the Brahmins to one *fifty-káṇi* piece, or *'adali* for every 10 *tankahs* (p. 366, and original MSS.).

[1] She was the daughter of *Rána* Mall Bhatti, whose estates near Abúhar were subject to Daibalpúr, Ghází beg Tughlak's special command.—Elliot's Historians, iii. 272.

[2] When Sultán Muhammad sent the Rai of Tilingana to Dehli, *Kattú* accompanied him. On the death of the Rai, *Kattú* made the profession of the Muslim faith, and was entitled *Makbúl*. "Although he had no knowledge of reading or writing, he was a man of great common sense, acumen, and intelligence" (iii. 367).

[3] "When Khán-i Jahán held the fief of Multán, he had a son born to him. . . He wrote to acquaint Sultán Muhammad [Tughlak] Sháh of the fact, and that monarch directed that the child should be named Júnán Sháh. This was the person who was afterwards known as Khán-i Jahán, son of Khán-i Jahán. . . . After the death of his father [in 772 A.H.], the Sultán promoted him to the office of *vazír*, and bestowed on him this title . . . He acted as *vazír* under Fírúz Sháh for twenty years, . . . and the Sultán committed all the affairs of the kingdom to his charge. But towards the end of the reign of Fírúz Sháh . . . enmity broke out between the minister and Prince Muhammad Khán, afterwards Sultán Muhammad Shah."—Shams-i Siráj, Elliot's Historians, iii. p. 371. (Khan-i Jahán was killed by Sikandar Khán, one of Muhammad Khán's officers, in A.H.

Jahán seems to have served his king faithfully for many years, till Fírúz's failing powers suggested a possible succession to the throne in his own person, which was, however, defeated by the Prince Muhammad Khán, who was thereupon associated in the government, in all form, as joint king and heir apparent. This arrangement was of brief effect, for the son was obliged to flee from the metropolis; and the father having, for the moment, again resumed his functions as sole Sultán, speedily relinquished all power to his grandson, the son of Fath Khán, who finally succeeded to the throne on the death of Fírúz, in Ramazán, 790 AH.

The reign of this monarch, though presenting few political incidents, is justly celebrated in the traditions of the land for the number and magnificence of the public works executed under his auspices. Ferishtah specifies no less than 845 undertakings of various kinds that the country owed to the constructive tastes of Fírúz Sháh.[1] The Sultán himself, in the autobiographical record he has left behind him, is more modest in his totals, but he clearly excludes the mention of many works of which we have palpable knowledge, and

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789). The son has left a record of his coming to office, in 772 A.H., on the walls of the black Mosque, near the tomb of Nizám-ud-dín Auliá, where he styles himself the خانجهان بن خانجهان . . . بنده زاده.—Syud Ahmad's Work, pp. 32–31 *bis*; facsimile Inscription, No. ٢٠ (٣٠); Jour. Asiatique, 1860, p. 409. There is another inscription of Khán-i Jahán's on the Kalán Masjid, dated in AH. 789, in which he describes himself as
بنده زاده درگاه جونانشه مقبول المخاطب خانجهان ابن خانجهان
—Syud Ahmad's Facsimile, No. ٢٢ (٣٥), p. 32. A full description of this Mosque, which is situated within the modern walls of Dehli, near the Túrkomán Gate (No. 5, Map), is to be found in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (1847), p. 577, the joint contribution of Capt. H. Lewis and Mr. Cope. The article is largely illustrated with plans and elevations, and furnishes a transcript of the inscription at full length.

[1] Briggs, i. 465.

which bear his name in the language of the people even at the present day. One of the most curious deficiencies a modern mind detects in the long list of buildings, canals, dams, bridges, and other works enumerated by him, is the total omission of even the name of a road, India's greatest want, and the deficiency of which facility of transit the Sultán had so signally experienced while personally in command of retiring armies. His canals, his best and most enduring gift, were confessedly prompted not by any kindly desire to aid and succour his subjects, but to make existence possible in the new towns his early Bhatti predilections induced him to found in the deserts of Hánsi; and the commercial element in these beneficencies crops up amusingly when he seeks for ecclesiastical sanction for his share of ten per cent. on the outlay.

These undertakings will be referred to more fully, and recapitulated in his own words, in connexion with the notice of his inscriptions, which follows the enumeration of his coins.

No. 223. Gold. Weight, 167 grs. (B.M.)

Obverse—واثق بتائيد يزداني فيروز شاه سلطانے

Reverse—

ضربت هذه السكة في زمان الامام ابو العباس احمد خلدت ملكه

No. 224 (pl. iv. fig. 113). Gold. Weight, 170 grs. (B.M.)

السلطان الاعظم	في زمن الامام
سيف امير المومنين	امير المومنين ابو الفتح
ابوالمظفر فيروز شاه	خلدت خلافته
السلطانے خلدت ملكه	

Margin—ضربت هذه السكة بحضر * * * ين و سبعمايه

Mr. Freeling possessed a dated piece of this class of 757 A.H.

No. 225. Weight, 168 grs. Col. Guthrie.

Obverse—السلطان الاعظم سيف امير المومنين ابو المظفر فيروز شاه
السلطانے خلد مملكته

Reverse—ضربت هذه السكة في زمن الامام امير المومنين ابي الفتح
المعتضد بالله خلد خلافته

No. 226. Gold. Weight, 170 grs. Unique. Gen. T. P. Smith.

Obverse—السلطان الاعظم سيف امير المومنين ابو المظفر فيروز شاه
السلطانے خلد ملكه

Reverse { Area, فى زمن الامام امير المومنين ابى عبدالله خلد خلافته
Margin, ضرب هذه * *

No. 227. Gold. Weight, 167 grs. Small coin. A.H. 788. (B.M.)

Obverse—فيروز شاه سلطاني

Reverse—نايب امير المومنين ٧٨٨

No. 228 (pl. iv. fig. 115). Silver and Copper. Weight, 141 grs.

(Average weight of six selected specimens, 139·5 grs.)

Dates observed, A.H. 759, 761, 762, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 787, 788, 789, 790.

Obverse—فيروز شاه سلطاني ضربت بحضرت دهلي

Reverse—الخيفه امير المومنين خلد خلافته ٧٧٣

No. 229. Silver and Copper. Weight, 54 grs.

Obverse—فيروز شاد سلطاني خلد ملكه

Reverse—الخليفه ابو الفتح خلدت خلافته

No. 230. Silver and Copper. Weight, 140 grs. A.H. 784, 785.

Obverse as No. 228.

Reverse—الخليفه ابو عبد الله خلدت خلافته ٧٨٤

No. 231. Silver and Copper. Weight, 34·8 grs.

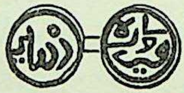
Obverse—فيروز سلطاني

Reverse—بحضرت دهلي

No. 232. Silver and Copper. Weight, 17·4 and 17·8 grs. Very rare.

Obverse—فيروز شاه

Reverse—دهلي



No. 233. Copper. Weight, 68 grs.

Obverse—فيروز شاه سلطانے

Reverse—دار الملك دهلي

No. 234. Copper. Weight, 36 grs.

Obverse—فيروز سلطاني

Reverse—بحضرت دهلي

No. 235 (pl. iv. fig. 121). Copper. Weight, 55 grs.

Obverse—فيروز شاه سلطاني

Reverse—ابو العباس احمد

No. 236. Silver and Copper. Weight, 84 grs. Very rare.

Obverse—فيروز سلطاني

Reverse—خليفه ابو الفتح

No. 237. Copper. Thick coin, much defaced. Weight, 106 grs. Unique.

Obverse
Area—فيروز شاه
Margin—Illegible.

Reverse—ابو عبد الله خلدت خلافته

POSTHUMOUS COINS OF FIRUZ.

No. 238. Coins similar in types and legends to No. 228; bear respectively the dates A.H. 791, 799, 801, 804, 816, 817, 820, 824, 825, 828, 830.

No. 239. Copper. Average weight, 68 grs. A.H. *799*, 800.

Obverse—فيروز شاه سلطاني

Reverse—دار الملك دهلی ٧٩٩

Frequent reference has been made during the course of these numismatic inquiries to the system, traditional in India, of combining silver and copper in varied proportions for the purpose of providing for the gradational sub-divisions of the *silver tankah.* We now reach a period when the practical application of this indigenous theory was greatly extended and elaborated in its subordinate details; and simultaneously we obtain, for the first time, official recognition of the process employed in the Mint, together with a full enumeration of the various pieces deemed necessary for the monetary rates and exchanges of the shopkeeper and the ordinary *bázár* purchases of the people at large.

Shams-i-Siráj 'Afíf, the special biographer of Fírúz Sháh, gives the following account of the improvements introduced into the circulating media of the country during his patron's reign. Following out the principle I have laid down for myself elsewhere, I reproduce the *ipsissima verba* of the

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author in preference to a mere translation, as furnishing a more formal and authoritative document in itself, which, though presenting no difficulty in its sense, may possibly serve to satisfy those who might otherwise seek to amend my interpretation.

شرح بیان احوال سکهاے مهرشش کانی نقلست سلطان فیروز شاه در طور عظمت و دور مکنت خویش چون سلاطین اهل گیتي سکهاء بچندین نوع پدید اورد چنانچه تنکه زر و تنکه نقره و سکه چهل و هشت کانے و مهر بیست و پنجکانے و بیست و چهار کانے و دوازده کانے و ده کانے و هشتکانے و ششکانے و مهر یک جیتل چون فیروزشاه بچندین اجناس بي قیاس مهر وضع کردانید بعده در دل مبارک بالهام حضرت حق تبارک و تعالي گذرانید اگر بیچاره فقیر از اهل بازار چیزي خرید کند و از جمله مال او نیم جیتل و یا دانکي باقي ماند آن دوکاندار دانکه خرد ندارد اگر این راه‌گذاري ان باقي بر او بگذارد ضایع رود اگر از ان دوکا ندار طلب کند چون ان مهر نیست از کجا باقي او دهد برین وجوه میان بایع و مشتري مقالت این حالت بتطویل کشد سلطان فیروزشاه فرمان فرمود که مهر نیم جیتل که انرا اده گویند و مهر دانکه جیتل که انرا بیکه گویند وضع کنند تا غرض فقرا و مساکین حاصل شود[1]

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[1] The above passage was originally quoted in my Supplement (Dehli, 1851) from the then supposedly unique copy of the Táríkh-i Fírúz Sháhi of Shams-i Siráj 'Afíf, in the possession of the Nawáb Zíá-ud-dín Khán of Lohárú. It has now been collated with and improved from two additional versions, the one contained in MS. No. 1002 of the old India House Library, the other supplied by a MS. lately purchased for the India Goverment at the sale of the Marquis of Hastings. A full notice of these MSS. is to be found in Professor Dowson's preface to his translation of the work itself in Elliot's Historians, iii. p. 270.

We gather from this passage that Fírúz continued to issue *gold tankahs* at the old 175 grain weight, to which, indeed, his extant coins bear testimony; but we miss any examples of the 200 grain gold pieces introduced by his predecessor. It is not, however, so clear as to what the weight of the *silver tankah* here alluded to was estimated at. Critically following the meaning of the term *tankah*, it should have corresponded with the measure of the parallel gold piece and that of the ancient silver *tankah* of 175 grains; but we meet with no silver coin of this amount, though there are numerous examples of coins weighing 140 grains, some of the less alloyed specimens of which may answer to the full *'adali;* but, as has been already remarked (pp. 219, 237), the issue of *tankahs* and *'adalis* seems to have been rather kept in abeyance, the abundance of gold coin now in circulation having relieved the silver currency of much of its early responsibility, so that the mint operations were chiefly devoted to securing a full supply of the groats and other alternative fractions of the Indian system. The gradational sub-divisions in the new coins provided by Fírúz are clearly designed to meet the fractional parts of the new 140 grain coin, while the sixty-fours of the old system are fully kept in view, both for the sake of the fundamental *káṇi* estimate in itself, as well as to secure the correspondence with the old 175 grain silver *tankahs*, which must still have constituted a large proportion of the local currency, notwithstanding that Muhammad bin Tughlak's momentary effort to restore the old weight may have been unsustained: in so much so, that we find the ancient *tankah* fully re-established in the reign of Mubárak Sháh II.[1] (A.H. 835); and Tímúr had already testified that the bulk of the coin found in the royal treasury at Dehli, on its capture in 801 A.H., consisted of the old *tankahs* of 'Alá-ud-dín Khiljí.

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[1] These coins give us the nearest approach to the *estimated* 175 grains of the normal *tankah* hitherto observed, rising up to a still preserved weight of 174 grains; and the silver money of Muhammad bin Faríd completes the evidence in an existing weight of 175 grains.

Under this dual system, fractional pieces are seen to have been ranged in the following order:—

a. $\frac{48}{64}$ths of 175 grains of silver (*i.e.* 131$\frac{16}{64}$ grains) or 48 *káṇis*, that is $\frac{3}{4}$ths or $\frac{12}{16}$ths of the old *tankah.*

b. $\frac{25}{50}$ths of 140 grains of slightly alloyed silver[1] (the *nisfi*) or $\frac{1}{2}$ of the *'adali.*

c. $\frac{24}{64}$ths of 175 grains, or $\frac{3}{8}$ths or $\frac{6}{16}$ths of the old *tankah.*

d.[2] $\frac{12}{64}$ths of 175 grains, or $\frac{3}{1}$ ths of the old *tankah.*

e. $\frac{10}{50}$ths of 140 grains, or $\frac{1}{5}$ of the *'adali.*

Added to these were the old *hasht-káṇis*, *do-káṇis*, and *ek-káṇis*, of which coins we have absolute examples among Muhammad bin Tughlak's issues; while the *shashkáṇis*, for which credit is especially claimed, as a novelty, originated by Fírúz, seem to have been already in existence in the form of coined money, otherwise it is difficult to understand how the African travellers should so constantly refer to them in their estimates of prices. Very possibly the laudations of the biographer only refer to the introduction of a larger and more systematic supply of these pieces, effected when Fírúz revised the general scheme of the then current coinage. Two of this monarch's minor triumphs may well be conceded to him—the institution of half and quarter *jitals.* These fractions could already be met by payments in simple copper, as the 4 *fals* in that metal sufficiently supplied the needful change under the old system; but Fírúz's aim seems to have been to produce these small pieces in mixed copper and silver for the sake of the more portable form the composite alloy would secure. And this, it must be confessed, is the grand merit of the entire scheme of a coinage of mixed metals; it did for a race who rigorously exacted full metallic values what a token currency in the subordinate metals does for the European civilization of this day; and in these very minute subdivisions, it provided, moreover, a tangible piece of money in the place of a star or flake of silver,[1] which a breath of wind would blow away, equally as it avoided the inconvenient weight incident to the lower value of pure copper. These new pieces were severally denominated *'adha* اده "half" and *bíkh* بيكه (probably the appropriate vernacular *bhíkh* ببيكه "alms," *ὀβολός*). The latter coin may be identified with No. 232, which is the very smallest *bit* contributed by any available specimen of Fíruz's money.

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[1] 25 *káṇis* of *pure* silver would be equal to 68·359 grs.

[2] The $\frac{16}{64}$, or *shánzdahkáṇi* of Muhammad bin Tughlak's divisional scheme, seems to have fallen out of circulation at this period. See page 219 *ante.*

I took the opportunity, during my last visit to Dehli, of having a number of Fíruz Sháh's coins assayed by the ordinary native process of blowing-off the copper with lead, a process which, when carefully conducted, affords a reasonably sufficient test,[2] which in other cases was confirmed by more

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[1] The *káṇi* or *jítal*, supposing it to have been minted in unmixed silver, would have required 2·73437 grains of that metal, so that the quarter *jítal* would have weighed only ·68358 grains, or less than 7-10ths of a grain troy. Those who are in the habit of using decimals of grains in more exact experiments will understand what this means.

[2] It must always be borne in mind that this was precisely *the* ultimate assay test within the reach of the authorities of the day, of which we have an amusing episode in the deterioration of these identical *shashkáṇis*, effected by a false Mint master, one "Kajar Sháh," who, in 772 A.H., ventured to put forth these coins at a depreciation of one grain of silver in the 16·4 odd grains of silver, less the copper alloy, by law required. Certain informers having reported this fact to the Vazír, a trial of the pix was instituted before the Sultán himself, aided by all the outward formalities of stripping the immediate operators, but insidiously allowing the ascertained deficiency of silver to be introduced into selected bits of charcoal, which, when thrown into the cupel, restored the legitimate balance,—a result

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formal analysis, according to the European method. On this occasion of personal superintendence of the assay itself, I satisfied myself of the extraordinary aptitude of the local experts in judging of intrinsic contents, by exacting a preliminary declaration on their part of the amount of silver each individual coin might be expected to yield. In certain cases of old and dirty pieces, recourse was had to a clearing of the surface by rubbing, when the glint of the silver soon indicated its proportion in the general total, but usually the feel between the thumb and the sensitive fingers of the professional assayer enabled him to pronounce a strikingly near approach to the weight of silver the operating goldsmith produced in the final button of silver. The following is the result of these different assays of various specimens of coin No. 228 :—

No.	1.	S.C.	Wt.	141 grs.	A.H.	765.	Result,	12	grs.	silver.
,,	2.	,,	,,	131·5 grs.	,,	767.	,,	23	,,	,,
,,	3.	,,	,,	132·2 ,,	,,	771.	,,	18	,,	,,
,,	4.	,,	,,	140 grs.	,,	781.	,,	24	,,	,,
,,	5.	,,	,,	140 ,,	,,	788.	,,	17	,,	,,
,,	6.	,,	,,	140 ,,	,,	788.	,,	18	,,	,,
,,	7.	,,	,,	132 ,,	(No date.)		,,	19	,,	,,

It will be seen that in these returns of pure silver we have optional examples of at least three several degrees of value—the minor variations may fairly be attributed to the want of homogeneity in the mixture of the metals, and which would probably be rectified by taking an average of a larger number of specimens. In each case, it must be remembered, allowance has to be made for the value of the copper, amounting

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rejoiced over by the Vazír and seemingly silently acquiesced in by the Sultán; though the overt act of the proclamation of the purity of the public money, and Kajar Sháh's rehabilitative promenade through the city, was speedily followed by his abrupt dismissal on other pleas.—Dehli Archæological Journal (Captain H. Lewis's translation), Sept. 1849, p. 32. Elliot's Historians, iii. p. 358.

in many instances to over 120 grains, which proportionately reduces the total of pure silver required to complete the intrinsic value of each denominational piece. Nos. 2 and 4 may, under these limitations, stand for 10 *káṇi* pieces; Nos. 3, 5, and 6, for irregular examples of a *hashtkáṇi;* and No. 1 for a *shashkáṇi;* but these identifications are purely speculative, and encumbered with many elements of discord in the minor details, so that, in testing authoritative values for any purposes of comparison of prices, it will be far better to rely upon the clearly ascertained fractional divisions of the *tankah* of 175 grains of fine silver, the declared equivalent of 64 *káṇis.*

PRICES OF GRAIN DURING FÍRÚZ SHÁH'S REIGN.[1]

1. Wheat	گندم	per *man*	. . 8 *jítals.*
2. Barley	جو	,,	. . 4 ,,
3. Gram (*Cicer arietinum*)	نخود	,,	. . 4 ,,
4. Coarsely-ground grain for horses,	دليدة[2]	10 *sírs*	. . 1 *jítal.*
5. Ghí	روغن ستور	per *sír*	. . 2½ ,,
6. Sugar	شكرتري	,,	. . 3 to 3½ *jítals.*

Q. Inscription of Fírúz on the 5th story of the Kutb Minár, dated A.H. 770.[3]

در ین مناره سنه سبعین و سبعمایه بافت برق خلل راه یافته بود
بتوفیق ربانی برکشیده عنایت سبحانی فیروز سلطانی این مقام‌را
باحتیاط تمام عمارت کرد خالق بیچون این مقام‌را از جمیع
افات مصیون داراد

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[1] Shams-i-Siráj 'Afíf. The returns Nos. 5 and 6 are derived from a marginal addition in the Marquis of Hastings's MS.

[2] The Persian texts give دليدة; the *local* word is دليه or دليا, द्विदल (from دلنا) "half ground," "split peas." The native term extends to all sorts of horse mashes, which the people of India have great faith in.

[3] See Ewer's Inscriptions, As. Res. xiv. 488, and Syud Ahmad's facsimile, 26.

This inscription has an important bearing upon the history of the Minaret itself, though it merely tells us that Fírúz repaired the damage caused by lightning; but taken in connexion with the Sultán's own words, in his autobiography, we gather a distinct affirmation that the Minaret was commenced under the auspices of Mu'izz-ud-dín Muhammad bin Sám, which fully bears out the suggestive reading of the name of Kutb-ud-dín *Sipahsálár* (adverted to at page 23 *suprà*), as still legible upon the bands of the lower story. The Sultán's expressions, at the same time, dispose of a very ingenious theory lately propounded by a Civil Engineer, that Fírúz himself actually *built* the two upper stories of the Minár;[1] that he raised its height is

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[1] "As regards the age of the various portions [of the Kutb Minár] as they now stand, the most superficial examination will show that the three lower stories, whilst they are identical in style and construction with the work of Altamsh, differ completely in both particulars from the two uppermost ones. In the former, except the outer casing, which is of sandstone (no marble being used anywhere), the walls are of cut granite; so too are the central pillar and the steps, which latter are not plain lintel blocks, but are carried upon corbels projecting from the walls. All the doorways and openings have Hindú horizontal arches; the sandstone is old and discoloured, and the ornamentation dates from Altamsh and Kutb-ud-dín's time. In the two upper stories all is changed; the walls, steps, and central pillar are of bright red sandstone, while marble being introduced into the outer face, the steps have no corbels, the arches have true voussoirs, and the ornamentation is identical with what we find prevalent in the latter half of the 14th century. We are thus warranted in assuming that these two stories were *newly designed* and built by Fírúz Sháh in A.D. 1368. General Cunningham agrees as far as the fifth story is concerned, but thinks the fourth is original, as the inscription over the doorway dates from the reign of Altamsh. But this doorway is exactly similar to the one above; it is built of similar stone, is of a similar shape, and, like it, has true voussoirs; it is clear, therefore, that the old tablet of Altamsh had been simply rebuilt into the new work of Fírúz Sháh."—Notes on the History and Topography of the ancient cities of Dehli, by C. S. Campbell, C.E., Journal As. Soc. Bengal, 1866, p. 199.

It is difficult to understand how, in the course of all this elaborate argumentation, based upon merely technical data, Mr. Campbell failed to refer to so simple an incontestable, but the tenor of his words would certainly

item of evidence as that quoted by Ziá-ud-dín Khán of Loháru in the first instance (Dehli Arch. Journal, 1852, p. 29), and prominently noticed by Gen. Cunningham (Arch. Report, p. 32), that the celebrated geographer, Abúl Fída, had, some time before his death, in 732 A.H., or necessarily twenty years prior to the accession of Fírúz, put upon record that the *Mazinah* of the Jám'i Masjid at Dehli counted 360 steps in its circular ascending staircase. Now, considering that the utmost limit this monument is ever known to have reached under all subsequent additions is 379 steps, it would be impossible, under such conditions, to concede to Fírúz Sháh the construction of two complete stories, and very lofty stories, as they fall in the general proportion to the total height, even if the very moderate increase he claims to have achieved did not otherwise determine the question. In a similar spirit of eccentric originality and needless antagonism to General Cunningham, Mr. Campbell goes on to enunciate one of the most singular propositions ever put forward by an archæologist. to the effect that "the citadel" of Rai Pithora's fort, "when rebuilt by 'Ala-ud-dín, received the name of *Siri*" (p. 214); and again, "Kutb citadel . . . rebuilt by 'Ala-ud-dín, A.D. 1304, and renamed by him *Siri*" (p. 216). In his attempt to support this novel theory, the late Executive Engineer of Dehli entirely disregards the important testimony of Ibn Batutah, that the "Dár ul Khiláfat *Siri* was a totally separate and detached town, situated at such a distance from Old Dehli as to necessitate the construction of the walls of *Jahán Panáh* to bring them within a defensive circle, and that the *Ḥauz-i-Kháṣ* intervened, in an indirect line, between the two localities" (iii. pp. 146, 155). Mr. Campbell's interpretation of the evidence of the Zafar Námah is equally imperfect. What can be more distinct than the details given at the time of the publication of Messrs. Cope and Lewis's plan, to which he refers for the refutation of Gen. Cunningham's position, than the statement (at p. 24 of the self-same number of the Dehli Archæological Journal), that "Siri was circular, and surrounded on all sides by a wall" (a similar wall surrounded Old Dehli), and from "that wall of Siri . . . to that wall of Old Dehli . . . there are built walls on both sides, the space between which is called Jahán Panáh." If anything were wanting to confute the whole ratiocination, Mr. Campbell's own arguments would complete the case against him. Not only is he obliged under the terms of his own reasoning to invent an imaginary Siri in the suburbs of *his* "New Dehli of the 15th century," (extending from Indrapat to Khizrabad on the banks of the Jumna), and affirmed by him to have been called "Siri by Sharif-ud-dín;" but the very passage he cites with so much emphasis, from a choice copy of the A'ín-i-Akbari, is positively and emphatically condemnatory of his own fallacy. What can possibly be more definite than the statement of Abúl Fazl, that

سلطان علاءالدين شهر ديگر بنياد نهاد قلعه نو برساخت آنرا سري کويند

"Sultán 'Ala-ud-dín built *another* city (and) a *new* fort, which they call Siri"?

not extend to a claim to two stories of the whole edifice.[1]

R. Inscription in Chirágh Dehli, dated A.H. 775.[2]

بسم الله تیمنابذکره عمارة این کنبد میمون در عهد مهون الواثق
بتائید الرحمان ابو المظفر فیروز شاه السلطان خلد الله ملکه سال
برهفتصد هفتاد پنج از تاریخ هجرت رسول الله صلی الله علیه وسلم

S. Inscription of Fírúz Sháh at Benares, from an impression on paper taken by Gen. A. Cunningham, dated A.H. 779=A.D. 1375.

The Inscription is engraved on one of the stone roof-beams of the edifice on the western bank of the Bakariyd Kuṇḍ.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

ازعون وعنایت ربانی و تائید قضل یزداني مسجد وگنبد دهلیزو
حجره و نردبان حوض ومحوطه مقام متبرکه سید فخرالدین شهید علوے
طاب الله ثراه و جعل الجنة مثواه بعهد سلطان الاعظم الواثق بتائید

---

[1] ومناره سلطان معزالدین سام را که از حادثه برق افتاده بود بهتر از
انکه بود از ارتفاع قدیمي بلندتر مرمت کرده شد

—MS. Futúḥát-i Fírúz Sháhi.

I see that Shams-i-Siráj 'Afíf erroneously attributes the Kutb Minár to Altamsh. —Elliot's Historians, iii. 353.

[2] Chirágh Dehli occupies a prominent position in the illustrative plan of the environs of Dehli, near Sháhpúr and Khirki. The shrine seems to have been originally erected in 775 A.H. by Fírúz Sháh, within the enceinte of Jahán-panáh. —Syud Ahmad, pp. 36, and facsimile, No. 21, p .31 *bis*; Journal Asiatique, 1860, p. 410.

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الرحمن ابو المظفر فيروز شاه السلطان خلدالله ملكه عمارت بنده
مسكين ضياء احمد كرد حق تعالي بنده مسكين خودرا عاقبت
بخير گرداند بحق محمد و اله اجمعين فى العشرة من شهر ربيع
الاول سنه سبع و سبعين و سبعمايه

I have selected the above inscription, in preference to any further citations of Fírúz Sháh's proper epigraphs, for several reasons—it is new and virtually unpublished,[1] it affords a fresh example of the avowed Muslim policy of appropriating Idol temples, for which Benares offered an unusually ample field.

The inscription records, in curious concert with the mixed style of the various buildings referred to, that one Zíá Ahmad, a true believer, by the aid and grace of God, "built or repaired the mosque, with the dome over the vestibule, or outer entrance porch, the reception chamber,[2] the steps of the reservoir or tank, and the encircling wall of the shrine of Syud Fakhr-ud-dín, the descendant of 'Alí, in A.H. 777." Most of these edifices had been elaborately traced and described by Messrs. Horne and Sherring prior to the discovery of the inscription. The following passages from their joint article in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (1865), p. 1, will put the reader in possession of a general view of the locality and the more material constructive details of the buildings. The inscription itself is cut upon one of the stone beams of the flat-roofed structure upon the western bank of the reservoir, which is thus noticed:—

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[1] I exhibited General Cunningham's paper impressions, with some brief remarks, at a meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society, on the 4th of July, 1870.

[2] Syud Ahmad informs me that the technical meaning attaching to حجره *in India*, is a small chamber subordinate to the Mosque, in which the servitor of the shrine lives, and in which pilgrims and others occasionally find a refuge.

"Ascending the terrace, you come to the building itself. . . The beams and slabs constituting the roof are in some cases 9 feet in length, and the roof is supported by three rows of immensely thick stone columns, the capitals of which are in the form of a cross. The cornice decorating the walls is not of modern narrowness, but is 12 inches deep, and is ornamented with carvings of various elegant devices. The outer wall on the western side is strengthened by a huge buttress of stone, 14 feet wide and 15 feet high."

"To the south of the tank is a *ghaut*, the stones of which are scattered about in great disorder, so that, looking at it from a distance, it has the appearance of an utter ruin. And such it really is. But it is nevertheless a comparatively modern structure, for the stones of which it is composed, judging from the elaborate and finished carvings on many of them, have been contributions from fallen edifices in the neighbourhood.

"At the south-west corner of the tank . . . overhanging the Kund, is a huge breastwork of stone, on the top of which is a spacious court-yard and a Muhammadan Dargah, or place of prayer. . .

"To the east of the Dargah is a small mosque, 37 feet long by 19½ feet broad, open to the east, and supported by three rows of pillars, five in each row. The pillars in the second row have deep scroll carvings on their sides with ornamental corners, consisting of Lotus seed-pods one on another."

" . . . Some parts of this building are certainly original; and there can be no doubt of the antiquity of the pillars, which belonged to some Buddhist [Hindú] cloister, or of the fact of the modern character of the inclosing wall.

"A few steps off, is an inclosure in the form of an irregular parallelogram, a wall being on either side, and two small Buddhist [Hindú] buildings at its extremities. That situated at the northern extremity is in some respects like the mosque just described. Its carvings, however, are not all the same, and its ornamental band is of a very ancient type. There is a small building used as a Ranza

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attached to its north-west angle, and sustained by ancient pillars and modern walls. The building is surmounted by a low cupola of primitive construction. It is not unlikely that originally there were cloisters on this bank of the Kund, and that the three small buildings just described were all at one time connected together."

If we could determine with any certainty when the Indo-Arabian Saint entitled Fakr-ud-dín *'Alawi* flourished,[1] we could, perhaps, better estimate and more definitely check the extent of the original or secondary work performed by the pious Muhammadan of Benares of the second half of the seventh century of the Hijrah.

FÍRÚZ SHÁH'S PUBLIC WORKS.

Fírúz Sháh's too modest enumeration of his own good works, as recorded in his autobiography,[2] is reproduced *in*

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[1] Syud Ahmad speaks of a Fakhr-ud-dín Sáhib in his notice of Chirágh Dehli, but he gives no intimation of the epoch at which he flourished (p. 33); Journal Asiatique, 1860, p. 410.

[2] Nizám-ud-dín Ahmad tells us that the text of this brief chronicle, entitled فتوحات فیروز شاهے, was engraved on the octagonal dome of the Jámi' Mosque at Fírúzábád.

و در مسجد جامع فیروزاباد بنا نهاده و مثمن است بر هشت طرف

آن کنبد مضمون این کتاب را هشت باب خیال کرده فروده است

See also Briggs's Ferishtah, i. 462. Syud Ahmad's Work, p. 34, under مسجد جامع فیروزے, and J.R.A.S. iv., N.S., 446.

The Futúhát-i Fírúz Sháhi opens with the following words, couched in the first person singular:—

من بیچاره مسکین فیروز بن رجب غلام محمد شاه بن تغلق شاه * *

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extenso in the note below.[1] Its chief merit consists in the information it affords regarding the archæological monuments of Old Dehli. Shams-i-Siráj's list is far more comprehensive, and enters into numerous interesting constructive details, and the motives which led his patron to commence some of his exceptional undertakings. Nizám-ud-dín Ahmad's totals, on the other hand, though not so obviously exaggerated as Ferishtah's, are clearly fanciful, especially in the number of *even* hundreds they display

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[1] "Among the gifts which God bestowed upon me, his humble servant, was a desire to erect public buildings. So I built many mosques and colleges and monasteries, that the learned and the elders, the devout and the holy, might worship God in these edifices, and aid the kind architect with their prayers. The digging of canals, the planting of trees, and the endowing with lands are in accordance with the directions of the Law.

Again, by the guidance of God, I was led to repair and rebuild the edifices and structures of former kings and ancient nobles, which had fallen into decay from lapse of time; giving the restoration of these buildings the priority over my own building works. The *Jám'i-masjid* of Old Dehli, which was built by Sultán Mu'izz-ud-dín Sám, had fallen into decay from old age, and needed repair and restoration. I so repaired it that it was quite renovated.

The western wall of the tomb of Sultán Mu'izz-ud-dín Sám, and the planks of the door, had become old and rotten. I restored this, and, in the place of the balcony, I furnished it with doors, arches, and ornaments of sandal-wood.

The *minárah* of Sultán Mu'izz-ud-dín Sám had been struck by lightning. I repaired it and raised it higher than it was before.

The *Hauz-i Shamsí*, or tank of Altamsh, had been deprived of water by some graceless men, who stopped up the channels of supply. I punished these incorrigible men severely, and opened again the closed-up channels.

The *Hauz-i 'Aláí*, or tank of 'Alá-ud-dín [the *Hauẓ-i Kháṣ*], had no water in it, and was filled up. People carried on cultivation in it, and had dug wells, of which they sold the water. After a generation (*karn*) had passed, I cleaned it out, so that this great tank might again be filled from year to year.

The *Madrasah* (college) of Sultán Shams-ud-dín Altamsh had been destroyed. I rebuilt it, and furnished it with sandal-wood doors. The columns of the tomb, which had fallen down, I restored better than they had been before. When the tomb was built, its court (*sahn*) had not been made curved (*kaj*), but I now made it so. I enlarged the hewn-stone staircase of the dome, and I re-erected the fallen piers (*pushti*) of the four towers.

Tomb of Sultán Mu'izz-ud-dín, son of Sultán Shams-ud-dín, which is situated in Malikpúr. This had fallen into such ruin that the sepulchres were undistinguishable. I re-erected the dome, the terrace, and the inclosure wall.

Tomb of Sultán Rukn-ud-dín, son of Shams-ud-dín, in Malikpúr. I repaired the inclosure wall, built a new dome, and erected a monastery (*khánkáh*).

Tomb of Sultán Jalál-ud-dín. This I repaired, and supplied it with new doors.

Tomb of Sultán 'Alá-ud-dín. I repaired this, and furnished it with sandal-wood doors. I repaired the wall of the *ábdárkhánah*, and the west wall of the mosque, which is within the college, and I also made good the tesselated pavement (*farsh-i ta'shib*).

Tomb of Sultán Kutb-ud-dín and the (other) sons of Sultán 'Alá-ud-dín, viz., Khizr Khán, Shádí Khán, Faríd Khán, Sultán Shabáb-ud-dín, Sikandar Khán, Muhammad Khán, 'Usmán Khán, and his grandsons, and the sons of his grandsons. The tombs of these I repaired and renovated.

I also repaired the doors of the dome, and the lattice work of the tomb of Shaikh-ul Islám Nizám-ul hakk wa-ud-dín, which were made of sandal-wood. I hung up the golden chandeliers with chains of gold in the four recesses of the dome; and I built a meeting-room, for before this there was none.

Tomb of Malik Táj-ul Mulk Káfúri, the great *wazír* of Sultán 'Alá-ud-dín. He was a most wise and intelligent minister, and acquired many countries, on which the horses of former sovereigns had never placed their hoofs, and caused the *khutba* of Sultán 'Alá-ud-dín to be repeated there. He had 52,000 horsemen. His grave had been levelled with the ground, and his tomb laid low. I caused his tomb to be entirely renewed, for he was a devoted and faithful subject.

The *Dáru-l ámun*, or 'house of rest.' This is the bed and resting place of great men. I had new sandal-wood doors made for it, and over the tombs of these distinguished men I had curtains and hangings suspended.

The expense of repairing and renewing these tombs and colleges was provided from their ancient endowments.

Jahán-panáh. This foundation of the late Sultán Muhammad Sháh, my kind patron, by whose bounty I was reared and educated, I restored.

All the fortifications which had been built by former Sovereigns at Dehli I repaired.

I was enabled by God's help to build a *Dáru-sh shifá*, or 'hospital,' for the benefit of every one, of high or low degree, who was suddenly attacked by illness and overcome by suffering. Physicians attend there to ascertain the disease, to attend to the cure, to regulate the diet, and to administer medicine. The cost of the medicines and the food is defrayed from my endowments. All sick persons, residents and travellers, gentle and simple, bond and free, resort thither; their maladies are treated, and, under God's blessing, they are cured."—Futúḥát-i Fírúz Sháhi, translated in Elliot's Historians, iii. 382.

Among the many works of direct utility or more enduring fame, there are three of Fírúz Sháh's exploits which claim especial notice in this place—two of them as intimately associated with the history of the capital, and the third as having given an impetus to the development of the resources of the land which we participate in to this day. The first of these operations was the removal of the Court to the new city of Fírúzábád, whose outline may be roughly traced on the illustrative plan as extending from Indrapat ("Indiput Fort") along the Jumna by Fírúz Sháh's Lát ("Feroze Shaw Pul Lath"), up to the Kúshk Shikár ("Shah Fukeer Lath"), covering a distance of more than six miles, and embracing the lands of eighteen separate townships.[1] The second enterprise, which possesses considerable antiquarian interest, was the removal of the two Monoliths or *Láṭs* of Aṣoka from their normal sites near Khizrábád and Meerut respectively, and their erection, the one in the *Kúshk* of Fírúzábád and the other in the Kúshk-i Shikár.[2] Both these monuments are inscribed with letters of the earliest-known archaic Pali characters, embodying the Edicts of King Aṣoka, the ardent propagator of Buddhism, promulgated by him in the 27th year of his reign (about 230 B.C.). The Khizrábád pillar also bears on its surface a later inscription of Vísala-deva, *Vigraha Rája*, dated in Samvat 1220 (A.D. 1164).[3] On the arrival of these columns at Dehli, Indian

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[1] Shams-i-Siráj 'Afíf; Elliot's Historians, iii. 303.

[2] Prinsep's Essays, i. 324; Journal Arch. Soc. Dehli (1849), p. 29.

[3] Colebrooke, Asiatic Researches, viii. 130; Journ. As. Soc. Bengal, 1864, p. xxxii.; Prinsep's Essays, i. 325. There is an engraving of Fírúz Sháh's Koṭila, with the column standing in the centre, copied from a drawing made in 1797, published in the seventh volume of the Asiatic Researches, p. 180. See also vol. i. p. 379.

"The golden pillar is a single shaft of pale pinkish sandstone, 42 feet 7 inches

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Pandits were summoned from far and near to decipher and explain the ancient writings on their surfaces, but they, one and all, failed to detect any trace of the symbols of their own every-day writing in the prototype of sixteen centuries anterior use,[1] and it remained for that most prominent of our Indian archæologists, James Prinsep, to rescue from oblivion the sacred alphabet of the Buddhists, to interpret the tenor of their then germinating professions of faith, and to reconstruct the progressive alphabets of India, whose modern derivatives are found to spread in so many varied forms over the entire continent of India, and to have penetrated into proximate lands, where the modern representatives of learning would assuredly deny their exotic origin.

Though the untutored eye may at first fail to recognize these identities, amid the conflicting agencies of crudities of vernacular definition, complications demanded by alien speech, and divergencies incident to materials and methods of writing, there can be no possible doubt but that, whether chiselled on stone, graven on metal, impressed upon clay, written with ink on primitive birch bark or more refined paper, or, as a final test, pierced with the iron style on

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in length, of which the upper portion, 35 feet in length, has received a very high polish, while the remainder is left quite rough. Its upper diameter is 25·3 inches, and its lower diameter 38·8 inches."

The second of Aṣoka's Dehli pillars is now lying in five pieces near Hindú Rao's house, on the top of the hill to the N.W. of Sháhjahánábád. The whole length of these pieces was 32¾ feet—upper diameter, 29½ inches; lower diameter 33·44.—Gen. Cunningham, Arch. Report, 1862, pp. 17, 19.

A somewhat similar Monolith was erected by Fírúz in the Fort of Hissár.—Journ. As. Soc. Bengal, 1838, p. 429.

[1] It is easy to understand the difficulty these unimaginative interpreters may have felt with the old Lát alphabet; but they must have been more than ordinarily obtuse or intentionally reticent if they failed to read the inscription of Vísala Deva, the characters of which are but little removed from the more recent varieties then current in the land.

Southern palm leaves, the entire range of existing characters now in use from Sind to Annam, however seemingly discordant, must all confess to the common parentage of some given form of the alphabet of the Pre-Aryan indigènes, the earliest extant example of which, in its lapidary or rock inscription form, dates at the very lowest estimate in 250 B.C.[1]

The most important feat of Fírúz Sháh's reign was, however, the construction of a double system of canals to supply his new city of Hissár Fírúzah, the head waters of which were drawn both from the Jumna and Sutlege; the former branch, but little modified, still supplies our British subjects in the nineteenth century along the full 200 miles of its ancient banks. The Sutlege section, which is stated to have joined the main line at Karnál, can still be indicated from Rúpar to Sirhind.[2] The old line of the Jumna branch was carefully traced by Col. Colvin in 1833,[3] and may be followed on the modern maps from Bádsháh Mahal at the débouchement of the river from the outer range of the Himalaya, by Chichroli and Búriah to Karnál,[4] through the cut-

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[1] J.R.A.S. i., N.S., p. 466.

[2] "Line of levels between the Jumna and Satlage Rivers."—Lieut. Baker, Jour. As. Soc. Bengal, 1840, p. 688.

[3] Jour. As. Soc. Bengal, 1833, p. 105.

[4] يكث جوي از لب آب جون كشيده و جوي دوم از دهانه لب آب
ستلج آورده از لب آب جون جنانچه رجيراه [var. رجيواه] و جوي
الغماني [الغنخاني] دهانه اين هردو جوي از اتصال كرنال بيرون
آورده ميان هشتاد كرور كرده در شهر حصار فيروزه برده

—Shams-i-Siráj 'Afíf MS.

We have a curious antiquarian document connected with the history of Fírúz ting below Uncha Samána, into the eastern branch of the Chitang river,[1] near Sufídún, and thence through the old bed of the Chitang to Hánsi and Hissár. The introduction of the water of this canal into the city of Dehli, which is noted (partly in pencil) on the plan of Col. Mackenzie as the "ancient canal of Firoz Sháh," dates in reality only from the time of 'Ali Murdán Khán, early in the 17th century.

Sháh's canals, in the form of an official *Sanad* or grant of the Emperor Akbar, dated A.H. 978, the opening of which specifies "the Chitang Naddi, by which Fírúz Sháh Bádsháh, 210 years ago, brought water from the *nálás* and drains in the vicinity of Sádhaurah, at the foot of the hills to Hansi and Hissár."—Col. Yule, Jour. As. Soc. Bengal, 1846, p. 214. Col. Yule adds in a note, "Sádhaurah is a town in the Ambálah district, about twenty miles west of the Jumna. The river flowing past Sádhaurah is the Markanda, but the sources of the Chitang are only seven or eight miles distant."

Of Fírúz's other great work for the supply of water for the environs of Dehli, we have only casual mention by Tímúr, who, in speaking of the capture of the Fort of *Loni*, describes it as situated between the two rivers Jumna and Hindun, the latter of which is stated to be a large canal constructed by Fírúz Sháh, taken from the Kalanadi, and connected with the Jumna opposite Fírúzábád.

See also Col. Colvin's Notice, Jour. As. Soc. Bengal, ii. p. 111.

[1] The Chitang was one of the sacred rivers of the Brahmans, embalmed in 'Manu,' as "between the two divine rivers *Saraswati* and *Drishadwati* (Chitang), lies the tract of land which the sages have named *Brahmávarta, because it was* frequented by gods" (ii. 17). "*Kurukshetra* (modern Dehli), *Matsya* (on the Jumna), *Panchála* (*Kanyakubja*, Kanauj), and *Súrasena* (Mathurá), form the region called Brahmarshi, distinguished from Brahmávarta" (ii. 19). See also Dr. J. Muir, J.R.A.S. ii., N.S., pp. 12, 18; Wilson, Megha Duta, pp. 356-7-8.

The improved texts and translations of Tímúr's memoirs, now available, enable us to fix with precision the site of the ancient city of Sarsuti, which proves to be identical with that of the modern town of Sirsah, lat. 29° 31', long. 75° 5'. We can readily follow Tímúr's march upwards from Bhatnír to Sirsah, towards Fathábád, Agrowah, and onwards to Fírúz Sháh's canal works about Sufídún.

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COINS BEARING THE CONJOINED NAMES OF FI'RUZ SHA'H AND HIS SON FATH KHA'N.

Fírúz Sháh, ill-fitted as he was in many respects to fill an Oriental throne, was ever ready to avail himself of the aid of stronger and more determined minds; hence his placid abandonment of all virtual authority to those singularly efficient Hindú administrators, Khán-i-Jahán, father and son, of that designation, who for 37 years guided the destinies of the narrowed dominions of the sovereignty of Dehli, while the Sultán employed himself in the exercise of his taste for building, the laying out of gardens, and improving his private estate.[1] Some such feeling of the need of political support may have led him to invest his son, Fath Khán, with the insignia of royalty so early as A.H. 760,[1] and to adopt the unusual expedient of placing his name, in conjunction with his own, on the public currency. Extant money also seems to show that a parallel issue of a binominal coinage took place after Fath Khán's death, in favour of another son, Zafar, whose own son, Abúbakr, eventually succeeded to the *masnad* on the death of Ghiás-ud-dín Tughlak, the son of Fath Khán, in A.H. 791. Later in his reign, when Muhammad bin Fírúz was formally associated in the government, a similar numismatic manifestation of Vice-regency was made.

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[1] I have previously adverted to the innate resources of India. The following incident is highly illustrative, as showing the accumulations it was possible to get together during the lifetime of a single prosperous *slave*:—"The great wealth of 'Imád-ud-dín has already been spoken of, it amounted to *krors*. The author was told that on one occasion bags were required for containing the coin, and 2,500 *tankahs* were expended in the purchase of the material, the cost of each bag being four *jitals*. . . . . When the accounts were brought before 'Imád-ul-Mulk, he objected to this extravagant outlay for bags, and directed that pits should be dug in the ground and the money placed therein. . . There were many rich *kháns* and *maliks* in the time of Fírúz Sháh, but no five of them possessed the wealth of this one noble. It is said that he amassed thirteen *krors* (of *tankahs*) [130,000,000 = £13,000,000], but was avid in the acquisition of more. He held the fief of Rápri, and looked very vigilantly after it. The clerks of the Exchequer (*díwán-i wazárat*) were afraid of him, and they refrained from calling him to account, so that in the course of years a large balance was due by him. This fact became known to the Sultán. . . . When 'Imád-ul-Mulk heard about the inquiry, he drew up a statement of his wealth, which he himself presented to the Sultán, who read it without making any observation, and returned it. . . . . . One day 'Imád-ul-Mulk brought a *kror* (of *tankahs*) [10,000,000 = £1,000,000] to Court, and when the Sultán cried out,

Fath Khán was so effectively recognized as the heir-apparent, that we find the Egyptian Khalif *Abu'l Fath* Al M'utaẓid billah[2] forwarding him a special robe of honour on the occasion of Fírúz Sháh's investiture;[3] and the coins themselves, though undated, bear record of this Pontiff's name and that of his successor, Abú Abdallah.[4]

'Bashír, what is this?' he replied that it was a small contribution (*chízi 'alúfah*) for the use of the servants of the Court."—Elliot's Historians, vol. iii. p. 372.

[1] Briggs's Ferishtah, i. 451.

[2] The sixth of his line. Date of inauguration, A.H. 753. See p. 258 *ante.*

[3] The third chapter of the fourth book of Shams-i-Siráj 'Afíf's Táríkh-i-Fírúz Sháhi contains a detailed account of the arrival at Dehli of the emissaries of the Khalif, ابو الفتح ابي بكر بن ابي الربيع سليمان, who were the bearers of a *Khil'at* for Fírúz Sháh. The narrative enters into the ceremony of the reception of this robe of honour, and enlarges upon the high compliment paid to the reigning Sultán in the voluntary act of the Khalíf, as contrasted with the solicitation which had secured a similar concession for Muhammad bin Tughlak. The title bestowed upon the Sultán on this occasion, and which he himself repeats with pride in his own autobiography, was سيد السلاطين. Fírúz does not use this title on his coins, but, as has been seen, adopts the more imposing warrior title of the early days of Mahmúd of Ghazní سيف امير المومنين "Sword of the Commander of the Faithful." The Sháhzádah Fath Khán and the *vazír* Khán Jahán were invested with *Khil'ats* at the same time.

[4] No. 7. Accession, A.H. 763.

Fath Khán died in 776 A.H., and was buried in state by his father, who, with pious care, erected near his tomb, known as the *Kadam Sharíf*, a dependent Mosque and a *Madrasah;* and likewise excavated a reservoir, which exists to this day.[1]

Coins of *Fírúz Sháh* and Fath Khán.

No. 240. Gold. Weight, 168 grs. Unique.

شاه	في زمن الامام
فتحخان فيروز	امير المومنين
حل الله ظلاله	ابو الفتح المعتضد بالله
و جلاله	خلدت خلافته

The letters of the legends of these coins are very imperfectly formed, and the words are arranged with but scant regard to legible sequence, while the Arabic invocation is altogether wild in its tenor.

No. 241. Silver and Copper. Weight, 136 grs.

Obverse—فتحخان فيروز شاه جل الله ظلاله و جلاله

Reverse—في زمن الامام امير المومنين ابو الفتح المعتضد بالله خلدت خلافته

No. 242. Silver and Copper. Weight, 138 grs. Rare.

Obverse as in No. 241.

Reverse—في زمن الامام امير المومنين ابو عبد الله خلدت خلافته

No. 243. Silver and Copper. Weight, 52 grs.

Smaller coins of similar types.

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[1] Syud Ahmad, p. 37; Jour. Asiatique, 1860, p. 411.

No. 244. Silver and Copper. Weight, 139 grs. Variety of No. 241.

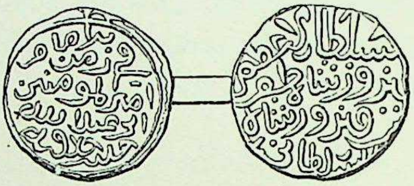
Obverse—فتحخان فیروز شاه * حل ظلال جلال ضربت هذه السکه

Reverse as No. 242.

COINS BEARING THE JOINT NAMES OF FIRUZ AND HIS SON ZAFAR.

The special coins of Fírúz Sháh, incorporating the name of his second son Zafar, require but brief notice after the combinations already brought under review in the parallel instance of the binominal coins of Fath Khán. It will be seen that they constitute a very complete series in the various metals, and, though usually undated, they may be taken, in their material form, to represent a fairly sustained and continuous issue. Unlike the pieces of the elder brother, which, in their crude legends, show signs of provincial treatment, the coins of Zafar coincide closely in their general aspect with the ordinary money of the reigning monarch, and in so far fully bear out the declaration on their surfaces of a Dehli mintage. There is one point in regard to the specimens quoted below which seems to call for explanation, which is the appearance of the date of 791 A.H. on No. 247, a period when Zafar must obviously have been in his grave; but we have already had experience of the unreserve with which the Dehli mint-masters latterly put forth posthumous coins, under the possibly double aim of utilizing the already executed dies of the obverse, supplemented by a confessedly responsible date of issue on the newly-sunk die of the reverse, as well as in the not unreasonable desire to perpetuate a specific coinage that had already achieved good credit with the public at large.

No. 245. Gold. Weight, 168·4 grs. Unique. Col. Guthrie.



السلطان الاعظم	في زمن الامام
فيروز شاه ظفر	امير المومنين
بن فيروز شاه	ابو عبد الله
السلطاني	خلدت خلافته

No. 246. Silver (?). Weight, 140 grs. New variety.
Mr. E. C. Bayley.

Obverse—فيروز شاه ظفر السلطاني * * دهلي

Reverse—الخليفه امير المومنين خلدت خلافته

No. 247 (pl. iv. fig. 116). Silver and Copper. Weight, 136 grs.
A.H. 791.

Obverse—فيروز شاه ظفر سلطاني ضربت بحضرت دهلي

Reverse—الخليفه ابو عبد الله خلدت خلافته ٧٩١

No. 248 (pl. iv. fig. 124). Silver and Copper. Weight, 78 grs.

فيروز شاه	ابو عبد الله
ظفر ابن	خلدت خلافته
فيروز شاه	

No. 249. Copper. Weight, 78 grs. New variety.

فيروز	الخليفه
شاه ظفر	ابو عبد الله
السلطاني	خلد خلافته

TWENTY-FIRST KING (A.H. 790–791; A.D. 1388–1388).

Ghíás-ud-dín Tughlak Sháh II., the son of Fath Khán, was formally appointed successor to the throne, and invested with the direct administration of the State, on the defeat of Násir-ud-dín Muhammad bin Fírúz, in A.H. 789. Immediately on Fírúz's death, on the 18th Ramazán, 790 A.H., he assumed the full insignia of royalty. His earliest efforts were directed towards the capture of the late associate king, the *Sháhzádah* Muhammad, but his generals were unsuccessful in their pursuit, and after some manœuvering in the hills of Sirmúr, the Prince made good his retreat to the strong Fort of Nagarkót, where he was permitted to remain undisturbed.

In the mean time Tughlak Sháh had been surrendering himself to unbridled dissipation in his capital, leaving the management of the kingdom to the chance offices of the ministers by whom he was surrounded. Eventually a party, headed by the Náib Vazír, *Rukn Chand*, put forward Abúbakr Sháh, the son of Zafar Khán, as a claimant for the throne; and Tughlak Sháh, in attempting to escape from his palace towards the Jumna, was overtaken and killed on the 21st of Safar, A.H. 791.

No. 250 (pl. iv. fig, 126). Silver and Copper. Weight, 136 gr

A.H. 790.

تغلق شاه	الخليفه ابو
سلطانے ضربت	عبد الله خلدت
بحضرت دهلي	خلافته ۷۹۰

No. 251. Silver and Copper (the silver predominates).

Weight, 164 grs. New variety. A.H. 790.

سلطانے	نائب
تغلق شاه	امير المومنين
	۷۹۰

No. 252. Silver and Copper. Weight, 80 grs.

Obverse—تغلق شاه سلطانے خلد ملكه

Reverse—ابو عبد الله خلدت خلافته

No. 253. Silver and Copper (excess of copper). Weight, 50 grs.

New variety. A.H. 790.

تغلق شاه	ابو عبد الله
سلطانے	۷۹۰

No. 254. Copper. Weight, 68 grains.

Obverse—تغلق شاه سلطاني

Reverse—دار الملك دهلي

TWENTY-SECOND KING (A.H. 791–792; A.D. 1388–1389).

Rukn Chand having raised Abúbakr bin Zafar Khán to the throne, naturally constituted himself prime minister, but this dignity scarcely satisfied his ambition, and he shortly proceeded to intrigue, with a view to supplant his own nominee; but the nobles, who were staunch to Abúbakr, getting information of his designs, took the initiative, and put him to death, with many of those upon whose support he had relied. The new king's power now became consolidated in the capital; but the murder of Sultán Sháh, the governor of Samána, encouraged Muhammad Sháh to issue from his stronghold of Nagarkót, and eventually to advance in force upon Dehli. In the irregular engagements which took place at Fírúzábád, Muhammad Sháh was unsuccessful, and retired into the Doáb; but being reinforced, he again encountered Abúbakr at Kandali, with a similar result; a third time he tried his fortune, at Paniput (his troops being commanded by his son), with an equal want of success. The Sultán, however, was unable to follow up his victories in an effectual manner, as it was unsafe to quit the capital which contained so many doubtful adherents; indeed, on the occasion of his absence in Jumáda'l awwal, 792 A.H., Muhammad absolutely made his way into the city, from which, however, he was speedily ejected. Shortly after this, Islám Khán, one of the most prominent of the old Fírúz Sháhi adherents, quarrelled with Abúbakr, and invited Muhammad to join him at Dehli. The Sultán's case now became hopeless, and on the 19th Ramazán, 792 A.H., Muhammad was formally installed as supreme monarch at Fírúzábád, and Abúbakr, after some ineffectual fighting, in Muharram, 793 A.H., surrendered at discretion, and died in prison at Meerut.

No. 255 (pl. iv. fig. 129). Silver and Copper. Weight, 134 grs.
A.H. *791*, 792, 793.

ابوبکر شاه	الخليفه ابو
بن ظفربن فيروز شاه	عبد الله خلدت
سلطاني	خلافته ٧٩١

No. 256. Silver and Copper. Weight, 47 grs. Small coin.
Obverse and reverse legends similar to No. 255.

No. 257. Copper. Weight, 114 grs. A.H. 792.

Obverse—In a square area. ابوبکر شاه

Margin— ظفربن فيروز شاه سلطاني

Reverse— نايب امير المومنين ٧٩٢

No. 258. Copper. Weight, 155 grs. Imperfect.

Obverse—In a circular area. ابوبکر شاه

Margin— * * * فيروز شاه

Reverse as No. 257.

No. 259. Copper. Weight, 140 grs. New variety. A.H. 792.

ابوبکر شاه	نايب
ظفربن فيروز شاه	امير المومنين
سلطاني	خلدت خلافته
	٧٩٢

No. 260. Copper. Weight, 58 grs.

Obverse— ابوبكر شاه ظفر سلطاني

Reverse— الخليفه ابو عبد الله خلدت خلافته

POSTHUMOUS COIN OF ABUBAKR.

One specimen of the coins of the identical type No. 260 is dated in clearly formed figures ٨١٣ 813 A.H. (My cabinet.)

TWENTY-THIRD KING (A.H. 792; A.D. 1389).

The Sháhzádah Muhammad Khán, son of Fírúz, defeated the arrogant *Vazír* Khán-i-Jahán, in Rajab, A.H. 789, and in the month of Shabán he was associated with his father in the government of the kingdom, which the failing strength of the Sultán did not permit him efficiently to control.[1] The

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[1] This appointment was attended with many of the forms and ceremonies of regal inauguration. The *khutbah* was read in the names of the two kings (در مساجد جمعه تمام بلاد مملكت خطبه بنام هر دو بادشاه مي خواندند در ماه شعبان سنه المذكور شاهزاده محمد خان در قصر جهان‌نما خلوس فرمود) Tárikh-i Mu'bárak Sháhi MS.

Shams-i-Siráj 'Afíf makes also an incidental reference to this contemporary nomination. Book i. cap. 18. "*On the names used in the khutbah.* It had been a rule among the Sultáns of Dehli that the name of the reigning monarch only was mentioned in the prayers of Sabbaths and festivals, and no reference was made to former Sultáns. When Sultán Fírúz came to the throne, they were about to follow the same rule, and to mention his name only in the *khutbah;* but he disapproved of the omission of former kings, and ordered that a *khutbah* should be said first in the names of those kings, and then one in which his own name should be mentioned. In accordance with this decree, the Sultáns in the

Prince was, however, unable to maintain his position in the capital, and had to retire to the hills of Sirmúr, where he was able to hold his own against the armies of his regnant nephew, Tughlak Sháh II. After the accession of Abúbakr, he obtained possession of Samána, and being reinforced from other quarters, he considered himself sufficiently strong to assume anew the ensigns of royalty (6th Rabí'ul ákhir, 791 A.H.), and further to attack Abúbakr at Fírúzábád in Jumáda'l awwal, 791 A.H. In this attempt he failed; but, undeterred, he recruited his forces, and again encountered Abúbakr at Kandali, in Shabán of the same year, with a similar want of success. A third time, with a like result, the troops of Muhammad, under his son Humáyún, met the Sultán's army near Paniput (in Muharram, 792 A.H.). Still trusting to the turns of fortune, Muhammad absolutely entered the metropolis during the momentary absence of Abúbakr, but was not in sufficient force to profit by his advantage. His eventual elevation to the throne was due to the defection of Islám Khán, one of the influential leaders of the anomalous institution of the "Slaves of Fírúz Sháh," who quarrelled with Abúbakr, and invited Muhammad to join him, and on the 19th Ramazán, 792 A.H., the son of Fírúz once again entered Dehli as its Sultán.

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following list were specially selected to be named in the *khutbah*:—1. Sultán Shaháb-ud-dín Muhammad bin Sám; 2. Shams-ud-dín Altamsh; 3. Násir-ud-dín Mahmúd; 4. Ghiás-ud-dín Balban; 5. Jalál-ud-dín Fírúz; 6. 'Alá-ud-dín Muhammad *Khilji*; 7. Kutb-ud-dín Mubárak; 8. Ghiás-ud-dín Tughlak Sháh; 9. Sultán Muhammad *'Adil*; 10. Fírúz Sháh. Two names were selected to be mentioned after that of Sultán Fírúz Sháh, viz., Muhammad bín Fírúz Sháh and his son 'Alá-ud-dín Sikandar Sháh; and till the end of the reign these names were mentioned in the prayers. . . . "—Elliot's Historians, iii. 292, and MSS. This last name is clearly an interpolation of the author's as his work progressed under succeeding kings. He speaks, in a subsequent passage, of Tímúr's admiring the monuments of Dehli in 801 A.H. (p. 353).

In 794 A.H., Harsing, the Rája of Etáwah, and other Hindú Zamindars, revolted, but were defeated by the army of Islám Khán, and the Sultán himself proceeded to Etáwah and demolished the Fort; from thence he went on to Kanauj and Dalamau, and commenced the foundations of a new city at Jalésur,[1] to which he gave the designation of Muhammadábád. Suspicions having been fomented as to the fidelity of Islám Khán, he was finally condemned to death, on the false testimony of his own nephew, *Jájun*, an unconverted Hindú, and Khwájah Jahán was appointed Vazír in his stead.

In 795 A.H., the Sultán defeated Bahádur Náhir, who had been bold enough to ravage the country up to the gates of Dehli, but on his return to his new capital, he died of a fever in Rabí'ul akhir, A.H. 798.

COINS OF MUHAMMAD BIN FÍRÚZ AS JOINT KING.

No. 261 (pl. iv. fig. 135). Impure Silver. Weight, 167 grs.
A.H. 790.

Obverse—محمد شاه فیروز شاه سلطاني

Reverse { Centre, ابو عبد الله
Margin, خلدت خلافته ضربت بحضرت دهلي ۷۹۰

No. 262. Copper. Weight, 67 grs. Unique. My cabinet.

Obverse—فیروز شاه سلطانے
Reverse—محمد شاه سلطانے

The specimen of No. 265, dated 790 A.H., must also be accepted as having formed an example of the Regency currency.

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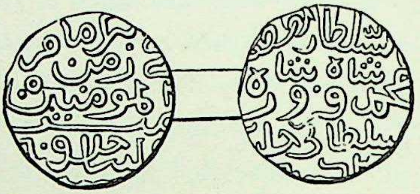
[1] Nizám-ud-dín Ahmad has جليسر and Ferishtah has جالسر, but the Tárikh-i Mubárak Sháhi has جيتر.

MUHAMMAD BIN FÍRÚZ'S OWN COINS.

No. 263. Gold. Weight, 170 grs. Very rare. Col. Guthrie.



السلطان الاعظم	في زمن الامام
محمد شاه فيروز شاه	امير المومنين
سلطاني خلدت	خلدت خلافته
مملكته	

No. 264 (pl. iv. fig. 134). Silver. Weight, 173 grs.
(Marsden, Nos. DCCXIX., DCCXXII., B.M.).
A second. Weight, 171·5 grs. Mr. E. C. Bayley. A.H. 793.

Obverse—السلطان الاعظم ابو المحامد محمد شاه فيروز شاه سلطٰني

Reverse— في زمن الامام امير المومنين خلدت خلافته ۷۹۳

No. 265. Silver and Copper. Weight, 140 grs.
A.H. 790, *793*, 794.

سلطانے	الخليفه ابو
فيروز شاه	عبد الله خلدت
محمد شاه	خلافته ۷۹۳

No. 266. Copper. Weight, 140 grs. A.H. *793*, 794.

Obverse { Centre, محمد شاه
Margin, ضربت بحضرت دهلي

Reverse—نايب امير المومنين ۷۹۳

No. 267. Copper. Weight, 68·6 grains. Small coins.

A.H. *793*, 794, 795.

محمد شاه	دار الملك
سلطاني	دهلي
	٧٩٣

No. 268. Copper. Weight, 30 grs. exact weight.

محمد	بحضرت
شاه	دهلي

No. 269. Copper. Weight, 52 grs.

Ooverse—محمد شاه فيروز شاه سلطان

Reverse— الخليفه ابو عبد الله

POSTHUMCUS COINS OF MUHAMMAD BIN FIRUZ.

No. 270. Silver. Weight, 174 grs. A.H. 817, *818*.[1]

(B.M. and my cabinet.)

السلطان الاعظم	فی زمن
ابو المجاهد محمد شاه	امير المومنين
فيروز شاه	خلدت خلافته
سلطاني	٨١٨

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[1] Marsden detected these exceptional dates on his own coins. He says, "Yet a difficulty, that I am quite unable to explain, presents itself on some of these specimens, where we perceive, in characters rude indeed, but sufficiently distinct the numeral figures ٨١٧ 817 on one, and -١٨ (8)18 on a second" (p. 542).

No. 271. Copper. Similar to No. 267. A.H. 801, 804.

These later specimens vary in the substitution of سلطان in the place of سلطانے.

There are no extant inscriptions bearing the name of Muhammad bin Fírúz; but the erection of his father's tomb on the margin of the Hauẓ-i Kháṣ, which is ordinarily attributed to his filial devotion, is associated with a record of the father's name, on the inner semicircle of the archway, while the outer band or superimposed arch displays the titles and designation of Sikandar bin Buhlól *Lódi,* who seems, in the spirit of Fírúz himself, to have repaired the original edifice, with many other monuments of Dehli, in 913 A.H. Both these inscriptions are stuccoed in Indian *Chunam,* or fine lime plaster, in alto-relievo, and, as might have been expected, have suffered considerably from the combined effects of time and climate. The following words may, however, still be traced in the primary legend:—

* سلطان السلاطين فيروز شاه طاب ثراه و جعل الجنته مثواه * [1]

In immediate proximity to this tomb are Muhammad Sháh's own grave and that of his son Sikandar Sháh.

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[1] Syud Ahmad, facsimile, No. 23, pp. 32, 41, 61; Journal Asiatique (1860), p. 415. Tímúr mentions this tomb in his memoirs, and expresses his admiration of the reservoir, which he describes as a bow-shot square.—Petis de la Croix, cap. xix. Elliot's Historians, iii. pp. 441, 501. The site of this tank is not marked on the accompanying plan; it may possibly have reverted to a similar state of disrepair to that which Fírúz speaks of (p. 290) when the first English survey was made. The adjoining village still goes by the name of Hauẓ-i Kháṣ.—Jour. As. Soc. Bengal, 1870, p. 81.

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TWENTY-FOURTH KING (A.H. 795; A.D. 1392).

Humáyún, the son of Násir-ud-dín Muhammad, assumed, on his accession, the designation of Sikandar Sháh. The historical record of the rule of this Sovereign is confined to the announcement, that he attained regal honours, and enjoyed them for the brief space of forty-five days.[1]

No. 272. Silver and Copper mixed. Weight, 142 grs. A.H. 795.

Obverse—سكندر شاه محمد شاه سلطاني

Reverse—الخليفه ابو عبد الله خلدت خلافته

No. 273. Copper. Weight, 134 grs. A.H. *795*.

Obverse { *Centre*, سكندر شاه
Margin, ضربت بحضرت دهلي

Reverse—نايب امير المومنين ٧٩٥

No. 274 (pl. iv. fig. 142). Copper. Weight, 67 grs. A.H. *795*.

Obverse—سكندر شاه سلطاني

Reverse—دار الملك دهلي ٧٩٥

No. 275. Copper. Weight, 30 grs. (exact weight).

شاه	بحضرت
سكندر	دهلي

---

[1] From the 17th of Rabí'ul awwal, when his father died, or, more exactly, from the 19th, when he ascended the throne, to the 5th of Jumáda'l awwal, 795 A.H.—Tabakát-i-Akbari MS.

TWENTY-FIFTH KING (A.H. 795–815; A.D. 1392–1412).

Of all the feeble inheritors of Fírúz Sháh's family honours, Mahmúd bin Muhammad was perhaps the most insignificant—a very shadow of a king. The earliest recognition of his nominal supremacy was associated with evil omens; and the normal weakness of the central government of the empire was further augmented by insurrections, which sprang up on all sides. Prominent among the rest, was the important defection of the *vazír*, Khwájah Jahán, who, in this act, laid the foundations of the temporarily powerful kingdom of Jaunpúr. In 797 A.H., a new claimant to the throne was advanced by S'aádat Khán,[1] in the person of Nuṣrat

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[1] S'aádat Khán, one of the leading nobles of Mahmúd Sháh's newly improvised Court, accompanied the Sultán in his expedition to Gwalior, in 796 A.H., and discovering a plot against his own life, quickly disposed of the leading conspirators, with the exception of Mullú Iḳbál Khán, who was destined to play so prominent a part in the events of the period, and who succeeded in escaping to Dehli, where he joined Muḳarrab Khán, who had been left in charge of the metropolis. In the strange turns of Indian politics, S'aádat Khán, carrying the Sultán with him, proceeded to besiege Dehli; but some delay occurring in its capture, the Sultán was induced to take refuge within the walls. This encouraged the besieged to risk a battle, in which they were signally defeated; but S'aádat Khán was not sufficiently strong to capture the place, so he hit upon the novel expedient of setting up a king of his own, and selected Nuṣrat Khán, who stood in the same family relationship to Fírúz as Mahmúd himself, and duly installed him as king in the city of Fírúzábád. Some of the old slaves of Fírúz Sháh and other influential parties in that town having made overtures to Mahmúd, S'aádat Khán found his position untenable, and retired with a scanty following within the walls of Dehli. Muḳarrab Khán pretended to receive him with amity and overt attention, but took an early opportunity of putting him to death.

Khán, a son of Fath Khán, and grandson of Fírúz. His supporters actually took and retained possession of the new capital of Fírúzábád, while Mahmúd and his followers were confined to the triple town of Dehli.[1] In this anomalous condition matters continued for the space of three entire years, each being in a measure king, and each holding his own dependent provinces of the empire:[2] meanwhile, constant and sanguinary encounters occurred between the troops of the rival factions. At length, Mullú Iḳbál Khán, who, in fit keeping with the whole of this strange state of political existence, had remained an observant and neutral spectator, first deceived, and, for the time, ruined Nuṣrat Sháh, and then succeeded in getting possession of the person of Mahmúd, in whose name he thenceforth pretended to rule. This irregular administration was, however, put an end to by the advance of the celebrated Tímúr.[3] The defeat of the Indian army, the surrender and subsequent merciless sack of Dehli followed; and, for five days, the Mughal conqueror continued feasting while his troops plundered and destroyed the hapless citizens of the ill-fated city; and, to finish the inconsistency, innate in the barbarian mind, "on the day of his departure he offered up to the Divine Majesty his sincere and humble tribute of grateful praise."[1]

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[1] Under Muḳarrab Khán, Bahádur Náhir had charge of *Old* Dehli (دهلی کهنه), and *Mullú* Iḳbál Khán commanded the Fort of Síri, the intermediate Jahán-panáh constituted the more open royal head-quarters.—Táríkh-i Mubárak Sháhi.

[2] Mahmúd's districts at this period are specified as—1. The Doáb (or portions of it S.E. of Dehli); 2. Sambal; 3. Pániput; 4. Jhujhur; and 5. Rohtak.—Táríkh-i Mubárak Sháhi MS.

[3] Tímúr, in his autobiography entitled "Malfúzat-i-Tímúri," contributes much curious information as to the state of India at the period of his invasion. Many of the details regarding the routes and the distribution of the strong places are of considerable interest; but his account of the capture of Dehli claims distinct notice. He tells us that in the engagement with the forces of Mahmúd and Mullú Iḳbal Khán, the Indian troops bore themselves bravely, and showed no want of courage. He goes on to describe his entry into the capital and his special directions that the *khutbah* should be repeated in his name "in the pulpits and mosques of the city of Dehli;" and he relates, with an evident feeling of the need of justification, the sack and utter ruin of the three towns, and the ruthless extermination of their inhabitants, for which he condescends to give no less than five very insufficient reasons. His narrative proceeds—"By the will of God, and by no wish or direction of mine, all the three cities of Dehli, by name Síri, Jahán-panáh, and Old Dehli, had been plundered. The *khutbah* of my sove-

The capital of Hindústán remained in a state of complete anarchy, to which were superadded the horrors of famine and pestilence, for the space of two months after the departure of Tímúr. At the end of this period it was taken possession of by Nuṣrat Sháh, and shortly afterwards

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reignty, which is an assurance of safety and protection, had been read in the city. It was therefore my earnest wish that no evil might happen to the people of the place. But it was ordained by God that the city should be ruined. He therefore inspired the infidel inhabitants with a spirit of resistance, so that they brought on themselves that fate which was inevitable. When my mind was no longer occupied with the destruction of the people of Dehli, I took a ride round the cities. Sírí is a round city (*shahr*). Its buildings are lofty. They are surrounded by fortifications (*kal'ah*), built of stone and brick, and they are very strong. Old Dehli also has a similar strong fort, but it is larger than that of Sírí. From the fort of Sírí to that of Old Dehli, which is a considerable distance, there runs a strong wall, built of stone and cement. The part called Jahán-panáh is situated in the midst of the inhabited city (*shahr-i-ábádán*). The fortifications of the three cities have thirty gates. Jahán-panáh has thirteen gates, seven on the south side bearing towards the east, and six on the north side bearing towards the west. Sírí has seven gates, four towards the outside and three on the inside towards Jahán-panáh. The fortifications of Old Dehli have ten gates, some opening to the exterior and some towards the interior of the city. When I was tired of examining the city, I went into the *Masjid-i-jámi'*, where a congregation was assembled of *saiyids*, lawyers, *shaikhs*, and other of the principal Musulmáns, with the inhabitants of their parts of the city, to whom they had been a protection and defence. I appointed an officer to protect their quarter of the city, and guard them against annoyance."—Elliot's Historians, iii. p. 447. See also Zafar Námah, p. 502, *ibid.*; and Petis de la Croix's translation, book iv. cap. xx.

[1] Price's Muhammadan History, iii. p. 267. This futile ceremony took place in Fírúz Sháh's Mosque in Fírúzábád.

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it again passed into the hands of Mullú Iḳbál Khán, whose sway at this time extended but little beyond its walls; the provinces being, in effect, independent under their several governors, who, one and all, held themselves as kings.[1] Iḳbál Khán, nevertheless, succeeded in gradually enlarging his boundaries; and in 804 A.H. was joined by Mahmúd (who had fled at the sack of Dehli to Gujárat), on whom he amiably bestowed his countenance and protection. Iḳbál Khán now undertook an expedition against Ibráhím Sháh Sharḳi, the Sultán of Jaunpúr, who had lately succeeded his brother Mubárak; and Mahmúd, thinking to improve his position, deserted his guardian, and went over to Ibráhím. He was, however, received with but small encouragement, and, finally, was allowed by both parties to establish himself as a sort of local king of Kanauj. On the death of Iḳbál Khán, which took place in an action with Khiẓr Khán, the governor of Multán, in Jumáda'l awwal, 808 A.H., Mahmúd was again invited to Dehli by Daulat Khán *Lódi* and other men of influence; but "deficient both in sense and courage," he made but little profit of his restored rights; and, surrendering himself to dissipation, he unconcernedly allowed the various local governors to fight their own battles for the few districts

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[1] DISTRIBUTION OF THE PATHÁN EMPIRE AFTER THE INVASION OF TÍMÚR IN A.H. 801; A.D. 1398.

Mullú Iḳbál Khán.............	Dehli and the Doáb.
Zafar Khán........................	Gujárat.
Khizr Khán	Multán, Daibalpúr, Sind (ساحت سند).
Mahmúd Khán	Mahóbah, Kálpi.
Khwájah-i Jahán	Kanauj, Oude, Karrah, Dalamau, Sundalah, Bahraich, Bahár, Jaunpúr.
Diláwar Khán	Dhár.
Ghálib Khán	Samánah.
Shams Khán	Biána.

—Táríkh-i Mubárak Sháhi MS.

which still confessed a nominal allegiance to the throne of Dehli. Mahmúd died in Rajab, 815 A.H.

No. 276 (pl. iv. fig. 143). Weight, 174 grs.

السلطان الاعظم
ابو الحامد محمود شاه
محمد شاه فيروز شاه
سلطاني

في زمن الامام
امير المومنين
خلدت خلافته

No. 277 (pl. iv. fig. 144). Silver (impure). Weight, 141 grs.
A.H. 795, *796*.

Obverse—محمود شاه محمد شاه سلطاني

Reverse—الخليفه ابو عبد الله خلدت خلافته ٧٩٦

No. 278. Copper. Weight, 140 grs. A.H. 798, 800, 804, *813*, 815.

Obverse { *Centre*, محمود شاه
Margin, سلطان ضربت بحضرت دهلي

Reverse—نايب امير المومنين ٨١٣

No. 279. Copper. Weight, 56 grs.

Obverse—Legend as in No. 277.

Reverse—الخليفه امير المومنين .خلدت خلافته

No. 280 (pl. iv. fig. 147). Copper. Weight, 68 grs. A.H. *795*, 797, 798, 800, 801, 802, 815 (816,[1] Posthumous coin; several examples of this date are known).

Obverse—محمود شاه سلطاني

Reverse—دار الملك دهلي ۷۹۵

No. 281. Copper. Weight, 32 grs.

شـــاه	بحضرت
محمود	دهـلـي

---

[1] The date of the death of Mahmúd is fixed by Ferishtah in Zi'l k'adah, 814 A.H.; and the assumption of power by Daulat Khán Lódi is affirmed, by the same author, to have taken place on the 1st of Muharram, 816 A.H. A difficulty is suggested in the very fact of the capital, and the country dependent upon it, having, as thus stated, remained for nearly fourteen months without even a nominal ruler. This anomaly is not attempted to be met by the compiler in question, nor is even its existence noticed by subsequent commentators. (See Bombay text, i. p. 292; Briggs, vol. i. p. 504; Elphinstone, vol. ii. p. 80.)

The point at issue seems to be authoritatively set at rest by the author of the Táríkh-i Mubárak Sháhi, who is very full and elaborate in his dates bearing upon the conflicting events of this troubled period, when a king's life was otherwise a matter of almost secondary importance. His text is most clear as to the month of Rajab, A.H. 815, and he adds emphatically—

مدة ملك او باين همه تزلزل و انقلاب بيست سال و دو ماه بود

TWENTY-SIXTH KING (A.H. 797; A.D. 1395).

The history of the partial sovereignty of Nuṣrat Sháh, dating from Rabí'ul awwal, A.H. 797, including both his three years' possession of Fírúzábád and his momentary occupation of the metropolis after the departure of Tímúr, has been sufficiently adverted to in the notice of the reign of Mahmúd.

From 802 A.H. Nuṣrat Sháh appears to have been lost sight of by Indian historians.

No. 282. Copper. Weight, 143 grs.

Obverse—نصرت شاه سلطاني

Reverse—نايب امير المومنين.

No. 283. Copper. Weight, 57 grs.

Obverse—نصرت شاه سلطاني

Reverse—دار الملك دهلي

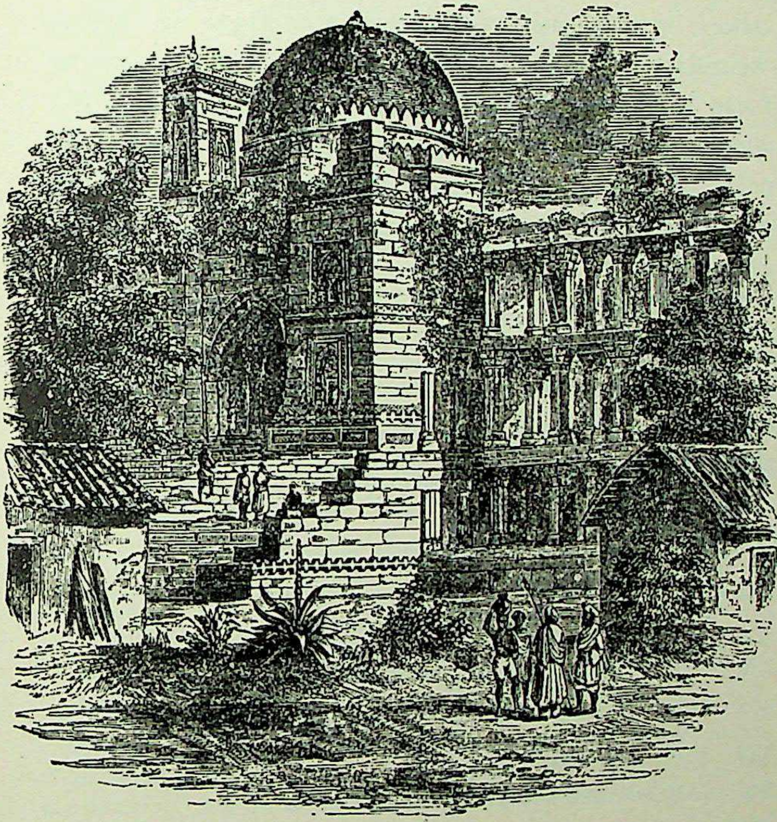
No. 284 (pl. iv. fig. 150). Copper. Weight, 67 grs.
A.H. 797, 798.

Obverse as above.

Reverse—دار الملك دهلي ٧٩٧

No. 285 (pl. v. fig. 151). Copper. Weight, 67 grs. A.H. 807.
Similar to No. 284.

This coin, though it can scarcely be pronounced to be posthumous, in our present ignorance of the eventual fate of Nuṣrat Sháh, seems to have been an adaptation of an old obverse to a new reverse, which latter correctly declares the date of issue—a matter held to be of some importance, it will be seen, in estimating the good faith and responsibility of the party immediately in charge of the mint.



Jam'i Mosque at Jaunpúr.

From Fergusson's Handbook of Architecture, vol. ii. p. 66!.

LOCAL COINS OF JAUNPU'R.

In the introductory divisions of this work I have had occasion to trace the absorption of native states and the coincident adaptation of their currencies to the new phase of the political supremacy of the Dehli Patháns. The period has now been reached in the history of that dynasty when the reverse process of disintegration had already made considerable progress, and the coins of local governors, or their successors, who had achieved independence, began to obtrude themselves in the general circulation. I do not propose to follow out the minor gradations of these local mintages; but where opportunities offer, I may, perhaps, advantageously notice representative numismatic illustrations of the advance of the more important kingdoms thus emancipated from central control.

The earliest contemporaneous issue, and that which is most closely connected with the decadence of Dehli, is the money of the Sultáns of Jaunpúr, whose reigning representative, Ibráhím, has been already noticed in connexion with the affairs of Mahmúd and Mullú Iḳbál Khán.

The following is a list of the dynasty of the independent Kings of Jaunpúr, with their dates of accession:—

THE KINGS OF JAUNPÚR.

A.H.	A.D.	
796	1393	Khwájah-i-Jahán, vazír of Muhammad bin Fírúz.
802	1399	Mubárak Sháh, his adopted son (ملک مبارک قرنفل).
804	1401	Ibráhím Sháh *Sharḳi*.
844	1440	Mahmúd Sháh bin Ibráhím Sháh.
862	1457	Muhammad Sháh (Bhíkun Khán) bin Mahmúd.
862	1457	Husain Sháh (defeated by Buhlól Lódi in 879 A.H.[1]).
879	1474	Barbak bin Buhlól Lódi placed in charge of Jaunpúr.
		On Buhlól Lódi's death Barbak opposes Sikandar bin Buhlól, but is defeated in A.H. 881, when Jaunpúr again becomes subject to Dehli.

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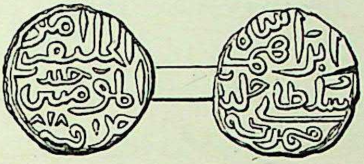
[1] Husain is permitted to retain some outlying districts, and finally seeks refuge with 'Ala-ud-dín of Bengal.

SPECIMEN COIN OF THE JAUNPÚR MINT.

No. 286. Silver and Copper. Weight, 140 grs. A.H. *818*.



Obverse—ابراهیم شاه سلطانے خلدت مملکته

Reverse—۸۱۸ الخلیفه امیر المومنین خلدت خلافته

Marsden has engraved and described a very full list of Jaunpúr coins, comprising the subjoined series (1–6), which I improve from Col. Guthrie's rich collection; the latter specimens are discriminated by *italic* letters (*a–h*):—

1. Gold. Weight, 148·5 grs. B.M.

Obverse—السلطان الاعظم شمس الدنیا والدین ابوالمظفر ابراهیم شاه
سلطانے خلد مملکته

Reverse { Area, في زمن الامام امیر المومنین ابوالفتح خلد خلافته
Margin, ... ضرب هذا الدینار . . في بسنه احد

a. Gold. Weight, 177·3 grs. A.H. 840. Col. Guthrie.

The chief peculiarity of this gold coinage is the elongation of the down strokes of the leading letters on the obverse, so that the upper surface presents a similarity to a modern Organ front, with its array of parallel pipes; the characters of the legends are also exceptional, and are fashioned in straggling and imperfect outlines, in a manner altogether unworthy of a civilized mint.

2. Silver and Copper. Weight, 36 grs. Pl. xxxvii. fig. DCCII.
A.H. 822; irregular dates up to 824, 836, and 844.

Obverse—ابراهیم شاه سلطنے

Reverse—۸۳۶ خلیفه ابوالفتح

3. Silver and Copper. Weight, 154 grs. Pl. xxxvii. fig. DCCLI. A.H. 813, 826. Specimen similar to that above engraved under No. 286 of the present series.

b. MAHMÚD. Gold. Weight, 175·2 grs. A.H. 855. Type as in No. 1.

4. Silver and Copper. Pl. xxxvii. fig. DCCLIII. A.H. 845, 846, 849, 856.

Obverse—محمود شاه ابن ابراهيم شاه سلطانے خلدت مملكته

Reverse—الخليفه امير المومنين خلدت خلافته ٨٤٥

c. Copper. Weight, 144 grs. A.H. 844, etc.

Obverse { Circular area, محمود شاه
Margin, بن ابراهيم شاه سلطان

Reverse—نائب امير المومنين ٨٤٤

5. Silver and Copper. Varieties. Nos. DCCLIV. and DCCLV. A.H. 846.

d. MUHAMMAD. Silver and Copper. A.H. 861, 862, 863.

Obverse—

محمد شاه بن محمود شاه بن ابراهيم شاه سلطانے خلدت مملكته

Reverse—الخليفه امير المومتين خلدت خلافته ٨٦١

e. MUHAMMAD. Copper A.H. 861.

Obverse { Circular area, محمد شاه
Margin, بن محمود شاه بن ابراهيم شاه سلطان

Reverse—نائب امير المومنين ٨٦١

f. HUSAIN. Gold. Weight, 180·3 grs.
Type as in No. 1, but with the entire omission of the marginal record.

g. Variety. Copper. A.H. 865.

Obverse { Circular area, حسين شاه
Margin, بن محمود شاه بن ابراهيم شاه سلطان

Reverse—نائب امير المومنين ٨٦٥

6. Copper. No. DCCLVI. A.H. 880, 886, 897, 900.

حسين شاه بن محمود شاه بن ابراهيم شاه سلطانے خلد * *

الخاليفه ابو عبد الله امير المومنين خلدت خلافته ٨٩٧

h. Coins of Barbak. A.H. 892–894. See under Sikandar bin Buhlól.

General Cunningham, who, in his earnest pursuit of the varied branches of Indian antiquarian lore, has devoted some attention to the provincial mintages of Jaunpúr, informs me that coins of Mahmúd are extant in continuous suites, dating from A.H. 844 to A.H. 863, and that during the concluding *three* years of his reign, in apparent imitation of Fíruz Sháh, he associated his eldest son, Muhammad, in the ostensible government of his kingdom. This concurrence of power is so far numismatically demonstrated, as to enable us to quote a record of the name of the son upon pieces purporting to have been issued from the mint of the Eastern Metropolis during the years 861, 862, and 863 A.H.

The subjoined series of assays were likewise conducted under the immediate superintendence of General Cunningham; and although his object, in these analyses, was rather to arrive at a general average of intrinsic contents, than to discover discriminative proportions of silver in the gradational divisions of the ruling *káṇis*, the table itself is of considerable interest, not only as an additional evidence of the existence of the pervading system of mixed metals for the regulation of exchange rates, but as affording a totally independent test of the values of conterminous issues, whose bare names have hitherto carried but vague intimations of their effective position in the circulating media of the period. At the same time, I must guard my readers against any supposition that the apparent depreciation of the currency under Husain, as here set forth, is in any way real and positive. As coins were seemingly taken at hazard for these trials, the depreciated result of the silver return in the money of the latter king may merely imply that his *do-káṇis* were more largely current or more readily accessible to the modern collector than the *shash-káṇis* of his predecessors; and such, indeed, is the inference the comparative number of intrinsic grains of silver in the immediate contrast would seem to point to; but this is a branch of the inquiry which is more important in its relative than in its direct bearing upon the leading question of the Dehli mintages, and, as such, may be reserved for comment hereafter in its proper place, in connexion with the issues of Sikandar bin Buhlól and the *black tankahs* of Tirhút in Bábar's returns. But the most curious fact contributed by the extant Jaunpúr coins consists in their testimony to the diverse metric systems obtaining in closely proximate localities at this period. The monetary standard of Imperial Dehli is now pretty well ascertained, and coincidently evidence is afforded of the gradations of current Bázár weights and measures. The local Eastern Mint clearly coined money of a higher average weight both in copper and in gold. In the latter metal we recognize *the* tolah of 180 grains, which our early English officials too readily accepted as the normal weight for all India. Col. Guthrie's gold coin No. *f* absolutely exceeds this ponderary measure by a small fraction; and the piece itself, though defective as a work of art, is as sharp in its edges as if it had received its stamp but yesterday. The other specimens in gold, Nos. *a*, *b*, equally advance in a marked degree beyond the limited 175 grains of the assumed Dehli standard.

Assays of Muhammadan Coins.[1]

	No. melted.	Mean weight. grs.	+ weight. grs.	Total. Silver. grs.	Average. Silver. grs.	
Ibráhím......	10	140·2	145	130	13·0	
Mahmúd.....	9	142·66	——	113	11·3.	
Husain (1st).	4	149·0	152	13·5	3·4	Mean of 110 coins in 3 assays, 3·34 grains.
,, (2nd).	96	——	——	299·0	3·125	
,, (3rd).	10	——	——	35·0	3·5	

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[1] I preserve the returns of some other assays which General Cunningham has simultaneously favoured me with, though they do not correctly belong to this section of Indian currencies; but as they form a portion of his table, they range themselves more consistently under the present association than they would amid independent analyses undertaken with a different object in view.

	Mean weight.	+	Silver.	Silver.	
’Alá-ud-dín Khiljí. Small name in circle. (No. 136 *suprà.*) 154 coins.	52·218	56	398	2·584 grs. each.	
Ditto, silvery looking. (No. 135 *suprà.*) 10 coins.	54·0	——	87	8·70 ,,	
Sikandar Lódi. 76 coins.					
1st 38	139·58	142	157		Mean of 2 assays, 4·18 grs. each.
2nd 38	134·47	144	161		

TWENTY-SEVENTH RULER (A.H. 815–817; A.D. 1412–1414).

On the death of Mahmúd, in Rajab, A.H. 815, the notables of Dehli elected Daulat Khán *Lódi* to be their leader, and pledged their instant adhesion accordingly. To judge from the narrative of the best informed and nearly contemporary historian,[1] there was no pretence of assumption of royalty, nor were any of the ceremonies of coronation or less formal investiture gone through upon this occasion. It was necessary to have some acknowledged head of the military oligarchy of the narrowed section of the country which still owned Dehli as its capital; and a recognition of the most powerful among the chiefs,—such as had sufficed for all purposes of government under Mullú Iḳbál Khán,—to the utter disregard of the fiction of a king, was perhaps, under the peculiar circumstances, the wisest course that could have been pursued.

Daulat Khán's position was further strengthened for the time by the cohesion of Mubárak Khán and Malik Idrís, who had lately supported Khizr Khán, Tímúr's governor of Daibalpúr, etc. However, the utmost the new ruler of Dehli was able to accomplish was a military promenade, in Muharram, 816 A.H., by the route of Katéhr[2] and Bisáuli,[3] leaving

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[1] The author of the Táríkh-i Mubárak Sháhi.

[2] The Táríkh-i Mubárak Sháhi mentions that "Rái Harsing and other Ráís of Katéhr (کتیهر *i.e.* Rohilkand) met Daulat Khán on this occasion, and tendered their submission." Nizám-ud-dín and Ferishtah have "Narsing" (i. 595). See also Elliot's Glossary, i. 171, 307; ii. 150; and Elliot's Index (1849), i. 192.

[3] This was the site of Fírúz Sháh's *latest* Fírúzpúr, seven *kós* from Badáon, which was quaintly entitled by the people of the land *Ákhirinpúr*, "the last city."—Ferishtah. Elliot's Bibliographical Index, p. 330.

Ibráhím of Jaunpúr to continue undisturbed the siege of Kálpi, Daulat Khán returned to Dehli, where, after suffering a four months' siege in the fort of Síri, he finally surrendered to Khizr Khán on the 7th of Rabí'ul awwal, A.H. 817.

Daulat Khán *Lódi* having refrained from assuming the honours of royalty, *ipso facto* admitted his disability to coin money in his own name.

The posthumous coins bearing the names of Fírúz Sháh or those of other members of his family, struck under the presidency of Daulat Khán *Lódi*, may be recapitulated as follows:—

1. Positive issues from the Mint of Daulat Khán *Lódi* during his full domination at Dehli:—Nos. 238, A.H. 816, and 280, A.H. 816.
2. Possible issues during the initial or concluding years of his power:—Nos. 238 and 270, A.H. 817, and 280, A.H. 815.

TWENTY-EIGHTH RULER (A.H. 817–824; A.D. 1414–1421).

Khizr Khán first appears in the political arena of northern Hindústán as governor of Multán under Fírúz Sháh. In the various complications consequent upon that monarch's subdued later life and the discordant heritages he left behind him, we only regain sight of Khizr Khán, in the general history of the day, when Sárang Khán, the brother of the all-powerful Mullú Iḳbál Khán, besieges and captures him in his own stronghold of Multán in 798 A.H. Escaping from his imprisonment, Khizr Khán seeks refuge at Biána, and in process of time, when Tímúr is on his way to Dehli, he casts his fortune with the alien invader. On the final departure of these Tátár hordes, who pretended to no interest in the land they had devastated and ruined within the limits of their providentially confined track, this complacent "Syud" was left to resume his former holdings, and eventually, not without effort, he succeeded in installing himself in the capital on the surrender of Daulat Khán *Lódi* in 817 A.H. His seven years' tenure of power in his new position present but few incidents of mark: there is a seeming Oriental want of energy to sustain an accomplished triumph, an air of ease which so often stole over the senses of a successful owner of a Palace in Dehli; and so his vazír and deputy, *Táj ul Mulk*, went forth to coerce or persuade, as occasion might dictate, the various independent chiefs, whether Muslim or Hindú, whose states now encircled the reduced boundaries of the old Pathán kingdom. There were, of course, the ordinary concessions to expediency, so well understood in the East, submission for the moment in the presence of a superior force, insincere professions of allegiance, temporizing payments of tribute, or desertion of fields and strongholds easily regained; but there was clearly no material advance in public security or in the supremacy of the central government. The inevitable law of nature had, no doubt, been asserting itself anew in the ready recovery of the influence of the free Hindú tribes as against the effete dominancy of the domesticated Muslims; but this process had been in continuous action from the day that the thin wedge of Muhammadanism first thrust itself amid the overwhelming population of India, whose almost Chinese attachment to ancient ideas would have resisted far more persuasive arguments than the sharpest edge of a scimetar, or the most eloquent exhortations of the latest inspired preacher of Islám. Added to this nominally antagonistic element, there had intervened in higher quarters an amalgamative process of intermarriage with Hindú females, and an admission of Hindú converts, upon very easy terms, to all the honours of Muhammadan nobility; so that any prestige the conquering race might once have claimed was altogether subdued, if not degraded, in these inconsistent concessions; and it required something more revolutionary than the accession of a local Syud to perpetuate a new dynasty.

Khizr Khán died at Dehli on the 17th of Jumáda'l awwal, A.H. 824.

A curious numismatic myth has hitherto been associated with the chieftainship of Khizr Khán, inasmuch as it had been asserted by Ferishtah that he coined money in the name of his patron, Tímúr.[1] A more careful examination of the leading versions of the Indian historians, combined with the testimony of extant coins, summarily disposes of this fable. Ferishtah clearly derived this statement from Nizám-ud-dín Ahmad; and looking closely into the Persian text of the latter author, it is seen to be almost a verbatim copy of the narrative of the Táríkh-i Mubárak Sháhi, with this remarkable exception, that the passage respecting Khizr Khán's refraining from assuming the title of king and holding himself as a vassal of Tímúr and Sháh Rúkh,[1] proves to be a gratuitous interpolation of the later epitomist, the concluding portion of which assertion is not adopted or received by his better-informed contemporary, 'Abd ul Ḳádir *Badáoni*, who rightly confines his statement to the non-assumption of the titles of royalty.

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[1] "He refrained from assuming royal titles, and gave out that he held the government for Tímúr, in whose name he caused the coin to be struck and the Khutba to be read. After the death of Tímúr, the Khutba was read in the name of his successor, Sháh Rokh Mírza, to whom he sometimes even sent tribute at his capital of Samarkand."—Briggs's Ferishtah, vol. i. p. 508.

Abúl Fazl followed Ferishtah in this error.

"Khizr Khán, out of gratitude to his benefactor, Tímúr, did not assume the title of Sultán, but continued to have the Khotbah read in the name of that monarch, contenting himself with being styled Ayáut Aála, or the Most High in Dignity. At the death of Tímúr, the Khotbah was read in the name of his successor, Sháh Rokh, concluding with a prayer for the prosperity of Khizr Khán."—Gladwin's Ayin-i Akberi.

As regards the numismatic aspect of the controversy, nothing could be more conclusive against any notion that Tímúr's title was emblazoned on the Indian coinage for many years after he had left the country, than the appearance of specimens of Dehli mintages, in more or less sustained order, bearing the names of Fírúz Sháh and other duly-installed monarchs of his race, dated in full figures, and embracing several of the absolutely identical seven years during which Khizr Khán was master of the capital.

In short, Khizr Khán, in imitation of the practice already sanctioned by Mullú Iḳbál, and more definitively recognized by Daulat Khán *Lódi*, issued money in the names, sometimes with the available original obverse dies, of his formally-crowned predecessors. It mattered little to one who did not care to call himself a king, whose superscription was placed on the public money,—his duty was confined to authorizing the legality of the new issues by so much of his attestation, as was implied in the annual date recorded on the reverse, which indicated one of *the* few years during which he was the responsible head of the provisional government of the country,—a system, indeed, which the East India Company, of their own free will, imitated with much credit and simplicity by striking their Rupees in the name of Sháh 'Álam and other defunct monarchs of Dehli, whose money had of old obtained good repute in the local Bázárs. But as the progressive annual dates, which were needed to test the good faith of Oriental princes, came, in process of time, to be a source of confusion and an opportunity for money-changers, the Government adopted the expedient of selecting the best current coin of the day, and based their standard upon its intrinsic value; and so the immutable date of "the xix *san* (year) of Sháh 'Álam," came to figure upon our much-prized "Sicca Rupees."[1]

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[1] "Notwithstanding his possessing the substantial power and authority of a king, he never assumed the title, but called himself Amír 'Ala. He allowed the coin to be stamped and the Khutbah to be read in the name of Amír Tímúr, and subsequently in that of Mírzá Sháh Rukh; but at last the people used to read the Khutbah in Khizr Khán's name, and to include him in their blessings."—Nizám-ud-dín Ahmad; Tabakát-i Akbari; Elliot's Index (1849), p. 192.

The author of the Táríkh-i Mubárak Sháhi never thinks of calling Khizr Khán by the title of Sultán. He is ordinarily entitled مسند عالي, but after his accession رايات اعلي (واسم پادشاهي بر خود تجويز نكرد رايات اعلي خطاب يافت) Badáoni, Calcutta text, p. 285.

TWENTY-NINTH KING (A.H. 824–837; A.D. 1421–1433).

The reign of Mubárak Sháh II. (*Mu'izz-ud-dín*) has had the advantage of a special biographer,—an author of more than usual merit, a careful epitomist of the initial history of the Muslims in India, a conscientious and exact narrator of the events of the later period, of which he had exceptional sources of knowledge, and a living witness of the personal government of his patron and that of his immediate predecessor, as well as of the introductory portion of the reign of Muhammad bin Faríd.[1] But the most graphic historian, ancient or modern, could have produced but little instructive matter out of the thirteen years of provincial warfare that the newly-instituted Sultán of Dehli was doomed to encounter.

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[1] Prinsep's Indian Antiquities, Useful Tables, pp. 2, 3, 24, 48, 74.

If Mubárak Sháh did not fight his own battles, he had to accompany his own armies at all times, and against all manner of adversaries; the more potent monarchs of Jaunpúr and Málwah affected his essential political position less than the fatal heritage of the Panjáb provinces, from which his father had gone forth to the bootless conquest of Dehli. In effect, the revered capital of the successors of Muhammad bin Sám had long since lost its prestige in India, and Tímúr's invasion merely put a finishing stroke to the supremacy of the old Hindú reverence for the "Owners of Elephants,"[2] or the more material purchasing power of the royal treasuries, the northern Barbarian took care to empty. Under these conditions, Mubárak Sháh might make minor demonstrations against the Hindú Zamíndárs of Katehr, or recover balances of tribute within a very limited semicircle south of Dehli, but his real complications were dependent upon the movements of those indomitable "Kokars" (Ghakkars) over whom Tímúr himself had obtained but nominal victories,[1] or the still more exhausting repetition of Tátár raids, organized by Sháh Rúkh's governor of Kábul, under the guidance of that false slave *Fúlád,* whose intrigues were initiated in near proximity to Dehli itself.

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[1] The author of the *Táríkh-i Mubárak Sháhi* gives us his own name and parentage in full in his preface as يحي بن احمد بن عبد الله السيهر ندي associated with his dedication in all form to the مالك ملوك العرب و العجم الواثق بتائيد الرحمن معز الدنيا و الدين ابو الفتح مبارك شاه السلطان The work itself is very rare, and none of our collectors of MSS. seem to have secured an original copy; even Sir H. Elliot himself, whose MS. I have had to rely upon for my quotations, only obtained a secondary transcript, from an unidentified text, made by one of his own *Múnshis*, who was neither a good caligraphist nor careful or critical in his reproduction of doubtful names. As I have before remarked, the author closely follows Shams-i Siráj in the early portion of his history; and with regard to his own independent composition in the entire work, this division has been so largely taken advantage of by subsequent authors, that the chief value of the recovered original consists in its enabling us to check and restore the doubtful passages that have crept into the recensions of later compilers. The modern copy made for Sir H. Elliot concludes somewhat abruptly with Muhammad bin Faríd's preparations for the march to Multán, in Rabí'ul ákhir, A.H. 838. I have been careful not to anticipate Sir H. Elliot's biographical notice of this author, which will probably appear in the fourth volume of his "Historians."—See Briggs's Ferishtah, i. p. xlix.; Badáoni, Calcutta text, p. 7; J.R.A.S. iii. N.S., p. 455.

[2] गज पति *Gaj pati*, "Lord of Elephants," a King.

Mubárak was murdered within the sacred precincts of the Mosque of the new city of Mubárakpúr,[2] which he had founded on the banks of the Jumna, by some Hindú assassins, instigated to their task by his own *vazír*, Sarwar ul Mulk. The date of this event is fixed by his biographer as the 9th of Rajab, A.H. 837.

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[1] Elliot's Historians, iii. pp. 415, 416, 473, 474, 485, 520; George Campbell, Jour. As. Soc. Bengal, 1866, p. 96.

[2] The site of Mubárakpúr is not fully determined; those who desire to place it about half-way, in a direct line, between "Shapor and Roshun Serai," of Colonel McKenzie's map, are met by the fact that it is definitely stated to have been built on the Jumna. Nothing, indeed, can be more clear than the statement of the author of the *Tárikh-i Mubárak Sháhi*, who absolutely witnessed the laying the foundations of the city in question, and who places it immediately on the banks of the river. His statement is as follows:—

بادشاه عالمپناه را اتفاق شد که شهري در کرانه از لب آب جون
بنا کند هفدهم ماه ربیع الاول سنه سبع و ثلثین و ثمانمایه شهري در
خراب آباد و نیابنیاد نهاد و آن شهر میمون را مبارکآباد نام نهاد

(See also his copyists, Nizám-ud-dín Ahmad, MS., and Badáoni, Calcutta text, p. 297). Under these circumstances, I am inclined to think that the site of the intended city should be looked for near the existing emplacement of the tomb of Khizr Khán (or خضر کي کنبتي) in Mouzah *Ukhalah* (اوکهله) (Syud Ahmad, p. 41). I do not feel any difficulty in regard to the present village of "Mubárakpúr," which in all probability only derived its modern name, as in the case of the village of the "Hauẓ-i Kháṣ," from the ancient monument, the tomb of Mubárak still standing within its boundaries.—See Syud Ahmad, pp.

No. 287. Silver. Weight, 174 grs. A.H. 833, *835*, 837.
Very rare. Mr. E. C. Bayley.

Obverse—في عهد السلطان الغازي المتوكل علي الرحمن مبارك شاه سلطان

Reverse—في زمن الامام امير المومنين خلدت خلافته ٨٣٥

No. 288. Silver and Copper. Weight, 172 grs.
A.H. *833*, 834, 835, 837.

Obverse Area, مبارك شاه
Obverse Margin, سلطان ضربت بحضرت دهلي

Reverse—نائب امير المومنين ٨٣٣

No. 289 (pl. v. fig. 154). Copper. Weight, 83·5 grs.
A.H. *832*, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838.

Obverse—سلطان مبارك شاه

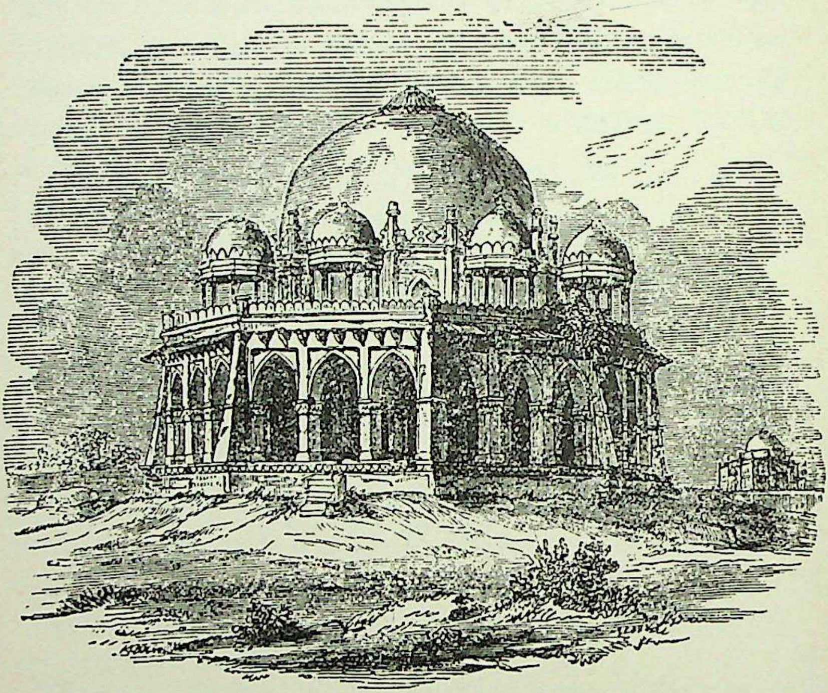
Reverse—دارالملك دهلي ٨٣٢

No. 290. Copper. Weight, 40 grs.

Obverse—مبارك شاه

Reverse— . . . بحضرت

26, 41; Jour. Asiatique, p. 190; Messrs. Lewis and Cope in Cooper's Handbook, pp. 49, 54; Gen. Cunningham's Arch. Report, *Map*; Mr. C. J. Campbell, Jour. As. Soc. Bengal, 1866, p. 216, and Map; and Jour. As. Soc. Bengal, 1870, p. 83.



TOMB OF MUHAMMAD BIN FARÍD AT DEHLI.[1]

"The usual form of a Pathán tomb will be understood from the accompanying woodcut. It consists of an octagonal apartment, about 50 *feet in diameter, surrounded by a verandah following the same form, each face being ornamented by three arches of the stilted pointed form generally adopted by the Patháns; it is supported by double square columns, which are almost as universal with them as the form of arch. It is evidently a reminiscence of the Hindú art, from which their style sprang."—Fergusson's Handbook of Architecture, vol. ii. p.* 653.

THIRTIETH KING (A.H. 837–847; A.D. 1433–1443).

Within a few hours of the murder of Mubárak Sháh, the perfidious *Vazír* had formally proclaimed another monarch, in the person of Muhammad bin Faríd, a grandson of Khizr

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[1] My authority for the assignment of this Tomb to Muhammad bin Faríd is derived from the testimony of that most experienced of all our archæological explorers of ancient Dehli, Syud Ahmad Khán, C.S.I. His account of the edifice is to be found at p. 42 of the "Ásár-us-Sunadeed," and Journal Asiatique (1860), p. 417.

Khán, whom the late Sultán had already adopted.[1] Sarwar ul Mulk, however, had no intention that the new king should exercise any real power in the State, and unscrupulously proceeded to possess himself of the royal treasures and equipments, and to distribute the most important posts among his own creatures. A government thus constituted could boast but few elements of permanency; other men could plot and intrigue, and the Muslim nobles were not yet prepared to accept a Hindú dictator, who made no scruple in advancing men of his own creed to all the more influential offices. A strong combination was speedily formed, which, after some varied successes, reduced the *Vazír* to stand a siege within the walls of Síri. In this crisis his puppet Sultán endeavoured to emancipate himself by entering into negociations with the besiegers; but Sarwar ul Mulk, obtaining intimation of this proceeding, determined to deprive his adversaries of the prestige of a royal coadjutor, by getting rid of his own protégé; but here, again, there were plots and counterplots, and the *Vazír's* assassin band was met by a stronger party of loyal adherents, by whom they were cut to pieces, a fate which was shared by Sarwar ul Mulk himself.

Muhammad bin Faríd seems for a brief period to have infused some energy into his administration, but the effort was short-lived, and we soon find him subsiding into sensual pleasures and utter neglect of his duties as a king. The inevitable result was soon apparent in the total disorganization of the country, and the opportunity offered to the ambition of neighbouring monarchs, which was quickly taken advantage of by Ibráhím of Jaunpúr, who possessed himself of several districts bordering on his own dominions, and Mahmúd *Khilji* of Málwah went so far as to make an attempt on the capital. To extricate himself from this pressing difficulty, the Sultán called in the aid of one who was destined to play a leading part in the events of his day, Buhlól Lódi, at this time nominal governor, though virtual master of the dependencies of Láhor and Sirhind. By his assistance, the king was relieved from his immediate danger, and the protecting subject was dignified with the title of Khán Khánán (first of the nobles). Buhlól's next appearance is in a somewhat altered character, as besieger of Dehli itself, and the adversary of the monarch he had lately saved; he was not however successful. Muhammad died in 847.[1]

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[1] Nizám-ud-din Ahmád, and after him severally Badáoni, Abúl Fazl, and Ferishtah, have confessed to a difficulty about the parentage of this monarch. The *Rubric* heading in Sir H. Elliot's MS. copy of the Tárikh-i Mubárak Sháhi is clear as محمد شاه بن فرید شاه بن خضر شاه السلطان, in exact accord with the tenor of the coin legends.

No. 291. Gold. Weight, 176 grs. Unique. Mr. E. C. Bayley.

Obverse—السلطان ابوالمحامد محمدشاه فريدشاه خضرشاه

Reverse—في زمن الامام اميرالمومنين خلدت خلافته

No. 292. Silver. Weight, 175 grs. A.H. *846*. Very rare. Mr. E. C. Bayley.[2]

Obverse—السلطان ابوالمحامد محمدشاه فريدشاه خضرشاه سلطاني

Reverse—في زمن الامام اميرالمومنين خلدت خلافته ٨٤٦

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[1] There is an unimportant conflict of evidence in regard to the exact date of the death of Muhammad bin Faríd. Ferishtah had succeeded in getting his record wrong by two years, by the process of post-dating Muhammad's accession by that amount; but he makes a less venial mistake in insisting upon a twelve years' reign in spite of his own expressed figures of from "839 to 849" A.H. (Briggs, pp. 532, 539). Badáoni also, who is correct in the given dates of accession and death, as 837–847 A.H., insists upon adding that Muhammad reigned fourteen years (Calcutta text, pp. 300, 304). Nizám-ud-dín Ahmad, on the contrary, is exact in his dates, and consistent in the assignment of a ten years' reign.

[2] The silver coin (No. D.CC.XXVII. p. 545) attributed by Marsden to this Sultán is incorrectly assigned.

No. 293 (pl. v. fig. 156). Silver and Copper. Weight, 142 grs.
A.H. 842, 843, 844, 845, *846*, 847.

Obverse—سلطان محمد شاه بن فريد شاه بحضرت دهلي

Reverse—الخليفه اميرالمومنين خلدت خلافته ۸۴۶

No. 294. Copper. Weight, 136 grs. A.H. *844*. Rare.

Obverse { Area, محمد شاه
Margin, . . سلطان ضربت بحضرت

Reverse—نايب امير المومنين ۸۴۴

No. 295 (pl. v. fig. 157). Copper. Weight, 85 grs.
A.H. 837,[1] *842*. 843, 844. 845, 846, 847.

Obverse—محمد شاه سلطاني

Reverse—دار الملک دهلي ۸۴۲

No. 296. Copper. Weight, 33½ grs.

Obverse—محمد شاه

Reverse—بحضرت دهلی

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[1] This very early specimen of Muhammad bin Faríd's coinage is the property of Major Stubbs. The last two figures are indisputable, and the first stroke of the ۷ is sufficiently pronounced to satisfy the present reading. On closer examination, I find that I have a [illegible]m of 837 A.H. in my own collection; and General Cunningham's cabinet, lately made over to Colonel Guthrie, contains a third example of the date in question.

THIRTY-FIRST KING (A.H. 847–855; A.D. 1443–1451).

The ’Alá-ud-dín bin Muhammad of the historians, who is entitled ’Álam Sháh on the current money, succeeded his father in 847 A.H. His accession was not, however, recognized by Buhlól Lódi, whose obedience the new Sultán was in no position to enforce. The first acts of the public life of this prince clearly manifested to his subjects that they had little to expect from a monarch who, in their own terms, was less efficient than his own father. In 851 A.H., Buhlól Lódi made a second attempt on the city of Dehli, but with as little success as before; and shortly afterwards the Sultán determined upon the unwise measure of removing his capital to Badáon: his motives for this change do not appear very obvious, as it was effected in the face of the advice of his whole Court. It would seem as if he hoped for some fancied security which he did not feel at Dehli, to which the boundaries of so many adverse chiefs had attained an inconvenient proximity.[1] To complete his own ruin, the Sultán allowed himself to be persuaded to disgrace his *vazír*, Hamíd Khán, who, escaping to Dehli, quickly welcomed the powerful Buhlól Lódi, who at once, on becoming master of the capital, assumed the title of Sultán; somewhat strangely, however, retaining 'Álam Sháh's name in the *khutbah*.[1] Not long after this, 'Álam Sháh offered to concede the empire to Buhlól, on condition of being permitted to reside in peace at Badáon: no difficulty was made in taking advantage of this proposal; and from this time Buhlól is reported to have rejected the name of 'Álam Sháh from the public prayers, and the latter was allowed to enjoy his insignificant obscurity undisturbed till his death in 883 A.H.

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[1] "Buhlól Lódi . . . was raised to the throne by a confederacy of six or seven great Afghán chiefs. At the period when this confederacy was formed, the empire of Dehli had really ceased to exist, having been broken down into a variety of kingdoms and principalities. Of all the former vast empire, Dehli alone, with a small territory around it, was held by the Syud Sultán ’Ála-ud-dín, the nominal sovereign. The more considerable provinces, Multán, Jaunpúr, Bengal, Málwah, and Gujarát, had each its separate king. The provinces around Dehli were in the condition emphatically called Mulúk-i Tawáif, or governments of tribes. Mahróli and Méwát, to within seven *cos* of Dehli, were in the hands of Ahmad Khán of Méwát; on the opposite side, Sambhal, to the very suburbs of Dehli, was occupied by Daria Khán Lódi; Kol-Jaleswar, in the Doáb, by Isa Khán Túrk; Rápri and its dependencies, by Kutb Khán Afghán; Kampila and Patiáli, by Raja Partáp Sing; Biána, by Daúd Khán Lódi. . . . Buhlól himself possessed the extensive provinces of Láhor, Daibalpúr, and Sirhind, as far south as Paniput."—Erskine's Lives of Baber and Humaiyún, i. 405..

No. 297 (pl. v. fig. 159). Silver and Copper. Weight, 146 grs.
A.H. 851, *853*. Rare.

Obverse—سلطان عالمشاه بن محمد شاه بحضرت دهلي

Reverse—الخليفه امير المومنين خلد خلافته ۸۵۳

No. 298. Silver and Copper. Small coins, similar in fabric and legends.

No. 299. Silver and Copper. Small coin of similar type to No. 297, but inserting ضربت دهلي on the obverse.

No. 300. Copper. Weight, 135 grs. A.H. *853*. Rare.

Obverse { Centre, عالمشاه
Margin illegible.

Reverse—نائب امير المومنين ۸۵۳

No. 301 (pl. v. fig. 160). Copper. Weight, 66 grs.
A.H. 852, 853, *854*. Rare.

Obverse—عالمشاه سلطان

Reverse—دار الملك دهلي ۸۵۴

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[1] Nizám-ud-dín and Badáoni do not give any sanction for this statement of Ferishtah.

No. 302. Copper. Weight, 46 grs. Rare.

Obverse—سلطان عالمشاه بن محمد شاه بحضرت دهلي

Reverse— . . . . . . الخليفه امير المومنين

I avail myself of the break in the continuity of my leading subject afforded by a change in the dynasty of the ruling power at Dehli, to advert briefly to the coins of the contemporary Muhammadan kingdoms of Kulbarga, Málwah, and Gujarát, whose independence, in the one case, grew out of Muhammad bin Tughlak's difficulties towards the close of his reign, and in the others, took their rise from the weakness of the government of Fírúz's successors in the old capital of the Patháns. As in the previous instance of the severed Jaunpúr line, I propose to confine the present numismatic illustrations to representative or otherwise remarkable specimens of these confessed offshoots of the imperial coinage, subordinating, in smaller type, the more ample outline of each local series immediately within reach.

I. THE BAHMANI KINGS OF THE DAKHAN.[1]

پادشاهان حسنآباد كلبركه و احمدآباد بيدر سلاطين بهمنيه

NO.	A.H.	A.D.[2]		
1	748	1347	Hasan Gango	شاه علا الدين حسن كانكوي بهمني
2	759	1358	Muhammad Sháh, *Ghází*	محمد شاه بن سلطان علاالدين حسن كانكوي بهمني غازي

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[1] Ferishtah, Bombay *Persian* Text, i. pp. 525, 730; Briggs's Ferishtah, ii. p. 283; Captain Grant Duff's History of the Mahrattas (1826), i. p. 50 *et seq.*; Prinsep's Essays—Useful Tables, p. 314; Elphinstone's History of India, Appendix, p. 755; Elliot's Index, pp. 331–336.

[2] The parallel dates here entered are designedly more reserved in their definitions than the leading scheme of comparative Hijrah and Christian eras propounded at page 6, *suprà*. If difficulties environed the specification of exact days and months in the one case, they more distinctly counsel an equal reserve in subordinate and more obscure records.

NO.	A.H.	A.D.		
3	776	1375	Mujáhid Sháh	مجاهد شاه بن محمد شاه
4	780	1378	Dáúd Sháh	داود شاه بن علاالدين حسن
5	780	1378	Mahmúd Sháh I. (*Muhammad on the coins.*)	محمود شاه بن علاالدين حسن
6	799	1397	Ghíás-ud-dín	غياث الدين بن محمود شاه
7	799	1397	Shams-ud-dín	شمس الدين بن محمود شاه
8	800	1397	Fírúz Sháh (*Roz Afzún*)	فيروز شاه بهمني الملقب بروزافزون شاه بن داود شاه
9	825	1422	Ahmad Sháh I.	احمد شاه ولي بهمني بن داود شاه
10	838	1435	'Alá-ud-dín (Ahmad) II.	علاالدين بن احمد شاه
11	862	1457	Humáyún (*Ẕálim*)	ولد سلطان علا الدين المشهور بهمايون شاه ظالم
12	865	1461	Nizám Sháh	نظام شاه بن همايون شاه
13	867	1463	Muhammad Sháh II.	شمس الدين محمد شاه بن همايون شاه
14	887	1482	Mahmúd Sháh II.	محمود شاه بن محمد شاه
15	924	1518	Ahmad Sháh II.	احمد شاه بن محمود شاه
16	927	1520	'Alá-ud-dín III.	علاالدين شاه بن احمد شاه
17		1522	Wali-ullah	شاه ولي الله بن محمود شاه
18		1525	Kalím-ullah	شاه كليم الله بهمني بن محمود شاه

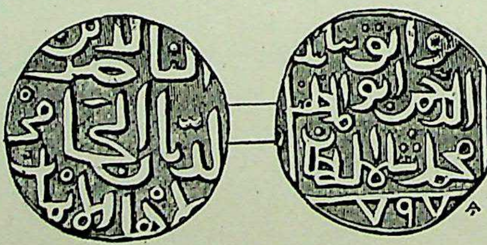
At the period of Hasan Gango's death. the dominions of the Muhammadans in the Dakhan extended over nearly all Maharashtra; a small portion of Telingana, together with Raichor and Múdgul in the Carnatic. When Muhammad Sháh succeeded to the throne, he divided the kingdom into four parts, or *tarafs*. In the course of 130 years the territory had been greatly increased by conquests, and under Muhammad Sháh II. a new division was proposed, according to the following outline :—

OLD DIVISIONS.	NEW DIVISIONS.
I. Kulbarga	1 Bíjapúr.
	2 Ahsanábád.
II. Daulatábád	3 Daulatábád.
	4 Junír.
III. Telingana	5 Rajamundri.
	6 Warangol.
IV. Berár	7 Gawel.
	8 Mahúr.

Out of these governments arose the several dynasties of 'Ádil Sháhi, Nizám Sháhi, Kutb Sháhi, Imád Sháhi, and Baríd Sháhi.[1]

No. 303. Silver. Weight, 165 grs. Very rare. Col. Guthrie.

A.H. 797.



الـــواثـــق بتائيد
الرحمن ابو المظـفر
محمد شاه السلطان
٧٩٧

الناصر لـدين
لدنان الحامي
لاهـل الايمان

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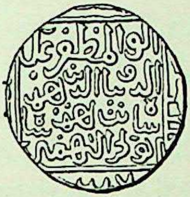
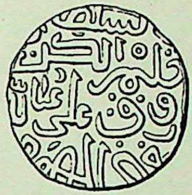
[1] Capt. Grant Duff's History of the Mahrattas (London, 1826), i. p. 64

No. 304. Silver. Gen. A. Cunningham. Very rare.

A.H. 856.





ابو المظفر علا
الدنيا و الدين احمد
شاه بن احمد شاه
الولي البهمني
٨٥٦

السلطان
الحليم الكريم
روق على عباد الله
الغني الحميد

Ferishtah, who was learned in Southern story, contributes some curious information in regard to the difficulties surrounding the early currencies of the Bahmani kings. He states that the money of Muhammad Sháh (A.H. 759–776) consisted of pieces of four different denominations, in gold and silver, ranging from two *tolahs* to a quarter of a *tolah* in weight;[1] he then proceeds to describe the legends employed, in which we need not follow him beyond his full text quoted below; but he adds an instructive notice of the tendency of the Dakhani *Sarráfs* to break up the new Muslim money for the purpose of reconverting it into coins after their own ideals, bearing Hindú devices. The King is stated to have resorted to extreme measures to repress this practice, but with little effect, until he appears to have given the *Khatrís*, who had originally migrated from Dehli with the conquering hosts, the monopoly of verifying the current coin, which incidentally carried with it the far more important prerogative, too well understood *in loco*, of precedence in money-changing.

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[1] و زر سلطان محمد شاه بهمني از قسم طلا و نقره چهار کونه بود باوزان مختلفه نهایتش از دو توله زیاده نبود و از ربع طوله کم نه و در یکطرف کلمهٔ طیبهٔ شهادت و نام چهار یار و درطرف دیکر نام بادشاه عصر و تاریخ وقت ارتسام داشت Bombay text, i. p. 537.

بموجب حكم كهتريان كه همراه لشكر دهلي در سنوات سابقه بدكن آمده بودند بشغل صرافي پرداخته تا اواخر عهد پادشاهان بهمنيه زر اسلام رايج و شايع بود Bombay text, i. p. 537.

The most important fact to be gathered from this statement is that, in the southern provinces, goldsmiths and dealers in bullion would seem to have been authorized, by prescriptive right, to fabricate money at will on their own account, without being subjected to any check or control on the part of the officials of a *Regal* mint, supposing such an institution to have formed a constituent division of governmental polity among these still primitive nationalities, where intrinsic values were ordinarily checked and determined by the rough process of the *touchstone* of the village *sonár*, or tested by the equally imperfect machinery of the responsible authority in the urban communities, with but little reference to royal or other stamps.[1]

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[1] I have had within my own experience, in the Saugor and Nerbuddah territories, a striking instance of the direct and personal responsibilities of the officials of the normal village communities, which quaintly illustrates the practical working of this testing process. A son of a village *sonár*, in the uncertainty of human life, succeeded to his father's office before he had had time to acquire the full knowledge of his ancestral craft, and in his new capacity was rash enough to put his *punched* attestation of genuineness upon some 350 rupees that were sub-

Bahmani Coins.

The subjoined skeleton list of the coins of the Bahmani dynasty has been mainly derived from the collection of Gen. A. Cunningham, which has lately passed into the possession of Col. Guthrie. Readily available additions have been made from other sources; but the catalogue is avowedly incomplete, and is only inserted as a serial nucleus, to be filled in hereafter by local collectors. I must avail myself of this opportunity of exonerating Gen. Cunningham from any of the errors which may be discovered in *my* transcripts of the necessarily obscure legends of the coins of this or of the other provincial dynasties now restored from the original pieces.

The contents of these cabinets were delivered in due numismatic order, but the interpretation of the legends did not, even if time had permitted, constitute an obligational part of the transfer to the new owner.

5. **Muha d Sháh.** Silver. A.H. 794, 795 (Sir W. Elliot, 797). (Engraved above.)

8. **Fírúz Sháh (Aḥsanábád).** Silver. A.H. 804, 807, 810, 813, 814, 817, 818, 819, 822, 823. Marsden, pl. 38, fig. DCCLXVIII.

Obverse—سلطان العهد و الزمان الواثق بتائيد الرحمن ابو المظفر

Reverse—٨٠٤ تاج الدنيا و الدين فيروز شاه السلطان

Copper. *Obverse*—فيروز شاه بهمنے *Reverse*—راجي رضوان مهيمني

10. **'Alá-ud-dín Ahmad Sháh.** Silver. A.H. 845 (Sir W. Elliot, 856). (Engraved above.)

Copper. A.H. 825, 828, 834.

المنصور بنصر الله المنّان ابو المغازي احمد شاه سلطان ٨٢٥

Copper. A.H. 842, 843, 844, 345, 846, 854. Large coins.

Obverse—المعتصم بالله المنّان سمي خليل الرحم ابو المظفر

Reverse—٨٤٢ علاالدنيا و الدين احمد شاه بن احمد شاه البسلطان

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mitted to him for examination by members of his own special community. As these pieces proved, one and all, to be forgeries, the ordinary homely rule required him to replace every rupee he had so incautiously put his hand to:—it is needless to say that he was hopelessly ruined. See also Prinsep, Useful Tables, p. 27.

Small coins have Obverses varying from المتوكل علي الـلـه الغني to
الواثق بتايد الملك

11. Humáyún Sháh bin Ahmad Sháh. Silver. A.H. 863. British Museum.

Obverse— المتوكل على الله القوى الغنى ابو المغازي

Reverse— علاالدنيا و الدين همايون شاه بن احمد شاه بن احمد شاه
الولى البهمنى ٨٦٣

13. Muhammad Sháh bin Humáyún Sháh (Shams-ud-dín).
Silver. A.H. 880. (Sir W. Elliot.)

14. Mahmúd. Copper. (No dates.)

II. Kings of Málwah and Mándú.[1]

NO.	A.H.	A.D.		
1	804	1401	Diláwar Khán, *Ghorí*	دلاور خان غوري
2	808	1405	Húshang (Founds' Mándú).[2]	سلطان هوشنك غوري
3	838	1434	Muhammad	محمد شاه بن سلطان هوشنك غوري
4	839	1435	Mahmúd *Khiljí* (defeated by Buhlól *Lódí*),	سلطان محمود خلجي
5	887	1482	Ghíás-ud-dín *Khiljí*	غياث الدين بن سلطان محمود خلجي
6	906	1500	Násir-ud-dín *Khiljí*	ناصرالدين بن غياث الدين
7	916	1510	Mahmúd II. (Muzaffar Sháh Gujaráti aids him in 923 A.H.).	محمود بن ناصر الدين

(A.H. 937, Málwah annexed by Bahádur Gujaráti).

The Muslim state of Málwah was at its zenith under Muhammad Khiljí. At this period its boundaries embraced the cities of Chandérí, Islámábád, Húshangábád, and Kirlah (the capital of Gondwarra); extending on the south to the Satpúrah range, on the west to the frontier of Gujarát, and on the east to Bundelkhand; while northwards the limits were marked by Méwár and Harauti, with occasional tribute from Chítor.[1]

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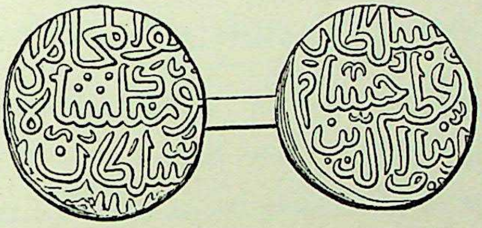
[1] Ferishtah, Persian text, ii. p. 360; Briggs's translation, iv. p. 167; Áín-i Akbari, ii. 53–63; Malcolm's Central India (1835), i. 28; Scott's Deckan, etc.

[2] Lat. 22° 20′, long. 75° 27′.

Ḥusám-ud-dín Húshang *Ghori.*

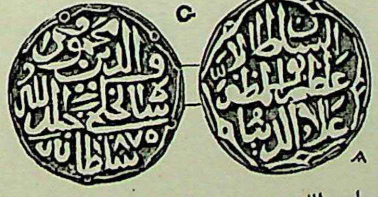
No. 305. Silver. Weight, 169 grs. *Unique.* Col. Tod's collection, Royal Asiatic Society. A.H. 824.



السـلـطـان	ابـو المجـاهد
الاعظم حسام	هوشـنـكـشاه
الدنيا و الدين	الـسـلـطـان
	٨٢٤

'Alá-ud-dín Mahmúd, *Khiljí.*

No. 306. Gold. A.H. 870.



السلطـــان الا	و الدين محـمـود
عظم ابو المظفر	شاه الخلجي خلد الله
علا الـدنـيـا	سـلـطـانـه
	٨٧٠

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[1] Malcolm's Central India, i. p. 34.

MÁLWAH COINS.

This list has also been compiled from the contents of Col. Guthrie's cabinet, comprising the careful selections of Gen. Cunningham, obtained through many years of diligent research.

2. **Ḥusám-ud-dín Húshang Ghóri.** Silver. (Coin engraved above.)

Copper. دارالملك *Reverse*—هوشنكشاه السطان

3. Copper. ضرب قلعه پتن اوجين (?) *Reverse*—في التاريخ ٨٢٩

4. **Mahmúd.** *a.* Gold. A.H. 870. (Coin engraved above.)

b. Gold. Square.

c. Silver and Copper. Square. Weight, 168 grs. A.H. 825, 826.

السلطان الحليم الكريم علاالدنيا و الدين ٨٢٦

Reverse—Square area. ابو المظفر محمود شاه خلجى

d. Copper coins of the same device. A.H. 848, 854, 856, 857.

e. Smaller type. A.H. 850.

f. Copper. A.H. 845, 847, 848, 851, 857.

الخليفه امير المومنين خلد الله خلافته ٨٤٧

ابو المظفر محمود شاه خلجے ضرب بحضرت شاديآباد

g. Silver and Copper. Small coins. A.H. 845, 854. (*Dehli type.*)

Obverse—السلطان الامظفر علاالدنيا و الدين ٨٤٥

Reverse—ابو المظفر محمود شاه خلجے ضرب بحضرت

h. Silver and Copper. Small coins. (Dehli obverses as above.)

Reverse { Centre—محمود شاه خلجے
Margin—بحضرت

i. Small coin. Shádiábád. A.H. 873.

5. Ghiás Sháh. Gold. Weight, 168 grs. A.H. 887.

Obverse—السلطان بن السلطان ولے عهد خليفه الزمان فے العالمين

Reverse—ابو الفتح غياث شاه السلطانے الخلجے ضربت بدارالملك
شاديا باد ۸۸۷

Margin.— * * * المظفر محمود شاه خلجے

Gold. Square. Weight, 169 grs. A.H. 883, 884 (British Museum, 885, 888).

الواثق بالملك الملتجے ابو الفتح غياث شاه
بن محمود شاه الخلجے السلطان خلد ملكه ۸۸۵

With a full design of the *Swastika* in the field.

Silver. Square. Weight, 84 grs. A.H. 890 (reversed ·۹۸, *sic*), 895, 899.
British Museum.

Copper. A.H. 883, 887, 894, 896, 903, 904, 905.

Copper. Small coins. A.H. 883.

6. Násir Sháh. Silver. Square. A.H. 907.

الواثق بالصمد * * ابو المظفر ناصر شاه
بن غياث شاه الخلجے السلطان خلد مملكته

Copper. A.H. 907, 914.

7. Mahmúd Sháh ('Alá-ud-dín). Silver.

الواثق بالملك الصمدے ابو المظفر محمود شاه
بن ناصر شاه الخلجے السلطان خلد مملكته ۹۱۶

Copper. A.H. 917, 918.

Copper. A.H. 914.

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III. The Muhammadan Kings of Gujarát.[1]

NO.	A.H.	A.D.	
1	778	1376	*Farhat ul Mulk*, appointed Viceroy by Fírúz فرحت الملك[2]
2	793	1390	Zafar Khán supersedes him by order of Muhammad bin Fírúz, and eventually assumes independence under the title of *Muzaffar Sháh.* مظفر شاه
3	814	1411	Aḥmad Sháh (grandson of Muzaffar Sháh) builds Ahmadábád and Ahmadnagar. احمد شاه
4	846	1442	Muhammad Sháh, son of Ahmad Sháh. محمد شاه الكريم
5	855	1451	Kutb Sháh (conflicts with *Kúmbho*, Rána of Méwár). قطب الدين بن محمد شاه غازي
6	863	1458	Dáúd Sháh, son of Aḥmad Sháh. داود شاه بن احمد شاه
7	863	—	Mahmúd Sháh bin Muhammad, *Bigara.* محمود شاه بیکره
8	917	1511	Muzaffar Sháh II. (wars with Rána Sanga). مظفر شاه بن محمود شاه
9	932	1525	Sikandar Sháh. سکندر شاه بن مظفر شاه
10	932	—	Mahmúd Sháh II. bin Muzaffar Sháh. محمود شاه بن مظفر شاه
11	932	—	Bahádur Sháh.[3] بهادر شاه بن مظفر شاه

---

[1] Ferishtah, Bombay Persian text, ii. pp. 350, 440; Briggs, i. p. 456; iv. p. 2, *et seq.*; Badáoni, iii. 139; Áín-i Akbari, ii. p. 92; Bird's History of Gujarát. p. 174; Elphinstone, p. 761; Prinsep, Useful Tables, ii. p. 315.

[2] بعد کشته شدن دامغانی اقطاع گجرت بحواله ملك مفرح سلطانی گردانید و فرحت الملك خطاب کرد

—Táríkh-i Mubárak Sháhi MS. A.H. 778.

[3] سلطان البر شهید البحر "King of the land, martyr of the sea." Killed at Diú, in 943 A.H., by the Portuguese.—Faria e Souza.

NO.	A.H.	A.D.		
12	943	1536	Muhammad Sháh *Fárúkí.*	محمد شاه فاروقي
13	944	1537	Mahmúd Sháh III.	محمود شاه بن لطيف خان بن مظفر شاه
14	961	1553	Áhmad Sháh.	
15	969	1561	Muzaffar Sháh III. (*Habíb*).	

Subdivision of the kingdom, and final annexation to Akbar's dominions in A.H. 980.[1]

Elphinstone gives the following outline of the possessions of this dynasty:—"When Gújarát separated from Dehli, the new king had but a narrow territory on the plain. On the N.W. were the independent rájas of Jhálór and Siróhi, from whom he occasionally levied contributions. The rája of I'dar, another Rájpút prince, was in possession of the western part of the hills. . . . The rest of the hilly and forest tract was held by the mountain tribes of Bhíls and Kúlís, among whom some Rájpút princes had founded petty states (Dóngarpúr, Bhánswárah, etc.). The peninsula was in the hands of nine or ten Hindú tribes, who had mostly come from Cach and Sind, at different periods, some centuries before. They were probably tributary, but by no means obedient. . . . The real possessions of the kings of Gújarát, therefore, only included the plain between the hills and the sea; and even of that the eastern part belonged to the rája of Chámpánír. On the other hand, the Gújarát territory stretched along the sea to the S.E., so as to include the city of Surat and some of the country beyond it."

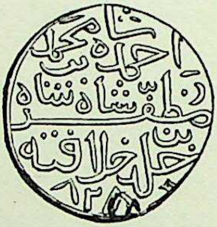
---

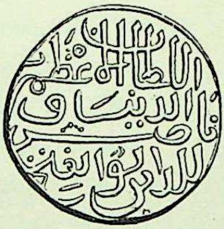
[1] "The whole collection from the government lands and those assigned in Jágír (in A.D. 1571) was 5,84,00,50,000, or 5 *arabs*, 84 *krors*, and 50 thousand Gujarát *tankchas*; . . there were in those days 100 *tankchas* to a rupee, and the same is now (A.D. 1756) reckoned at 40 *dáms*, so that the whole amount would at the present time be equal to 5 *krors* 47 *laks* of rupees (5,84,00,000. Editor's note). A sum also of 25 *laks* of *Húns*, and 1 *kror* of *Ibrahímis*, that were two parts greater, being altogether equal to 5 *krors* 62 *laks* of rupees, was collected annually from the kings of the Dakhan, etc."—Bird's Gujarát, p. 109.

The silver currencies of the *Mahmúdi* and *Muzaffari* of Gujarát and Málwah are noticed in the Áín-i Akbari, and their intrinsic values specified with reference to other coinages.—See Gladwin, i. p. 17; Blochmann, i. p. 23.

Aḥmad Sháh.

No. 307. Silver. Weight, 172 grs. A.H. *823*. Col. Guthrie.



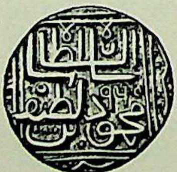


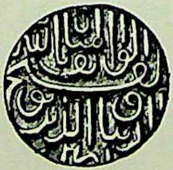
احمد شاه بن محمد شاه
بن مظفر شاه
خلد خلافته
٨٢٨

السلطان الاعظم
ناصر الدنيا و الدين
ابو الفتح

Mahmúd bin Latíf.

No. 308. Gold. Weight, 183 grs. A.H. *960*. Col. Guthrie.





محمود شاه
بن لطيف شاه
السلطان
٩٦٠

الواثق بالله المنان
ابو الفتح قطب
الدنيا والدين

GUJARÁT COINS.

3. **NÁSIR-UD-DÍN AHMAD.** Silver.

a. A.H. 828. (Engraved above.)

b. Variety similar to *a*, but with square area on the reverse. Weight, 175 grs.

Copper. Small coins. A.H. 843.

a. ناصر الدنيا و الدين   احمد شاه السلطان

b. *Variety,* in two sizes. *Square* area reverse. A.H. 830, 831, 837, 840, 843, 845, 846.

4. **GHIÁS-UD-DÍN MUHAMMAD.** *a.* Small coins. Copper. A.H. 849, 850.

غياث الدنيا و الدين   محمد شاه السلطان

b. Square coins. A.H. 856 ? Similar legends, with the prefix of

السلطان الاعظم on one face and ابو المحامد on the other.

7. **MAHMÚD.** Silver. A.H, 891, 903, 911.
Silver and Copper. A.H. 870.
Copper. A.H. 869, 900, 909, 917.

8. **MUZAFFAR SHÁH.** Gold. E.I. collection. A.H. 929. Silver.
Copper. A.H. 922, 923, 924, 928.

10. **MAHMÚD II.** Silver.

11. **BAHADUR (KUTB-UD-DÍN).** Silver.
Copper. A.H. 937, 938, 940.

قطب الدنيا و الدين ابو الفضل ۹۴۰

ابو المظفر بهادر شاه السلطان

13. **MAHMÚD BIN LATIF III. (KUTB-UD-DÍN).**
Gold. A.H. 946, 947, 950, (960, engraved above).
Silver. Struck at Muhammadábád. A.H. 961.
Copper. A.H. 946, 947, 949.

14. **AHMAD SHÁH (KUTB-UD-DÍN).**
Silver. A.H. 968. Copper. A.H. 961.

15. **MUZAFFAR SHÁH BIN MAHMÚD.** Gold. Weight, 185 grs. A.H. 977.
Silver. A.H. 969, 979. Copper. A.H. 969, 971, 978.

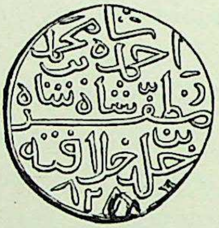
ألمويد بتايد الرحمن النصر الدنيا و الدين

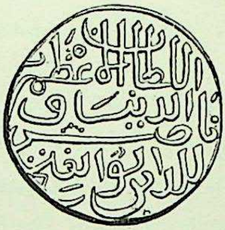
مظفر شاه بن محمود شاه السلطان ۹۷۷

belonged to the rája of Chámpánír. On the other hand, the Gújarát territory stretched along the sea to the S.E., so as to include the city of Surat and some of the country beyond it."

Aḥmad Sháh.

No. 307. Silver. Weight, 172 grs. A.H. *823*. Col. Guthrie.





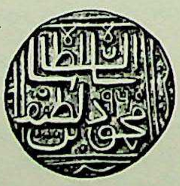
احمد شاه بن محمد شاه
بن مظفر شاه
خلد خلافته

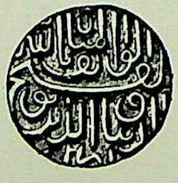
٨٢٨

السلطان الاعظم
ناصر الدنيا و الدين
ابو الفتح

Mahmúd bin Latíf.

No. 308. Gold. Weight, 183 grs. A.H. *960*. Col. Guthrie.





محمود شاه
بن لطيف شاه
السلطان

٩٦٠

الواثق بالله المنان
ابو الفتح قطب
الدنيا و الدين

GUJARÁT COINS.

3. NÁSIR-UD-DÍN AHMAD. Silver.

a. A.H. 828. (Engraved above.)

b. Variety similar to *a*, but with square area on the reverse. Weight, 175 grs.

Copper. Small coins. A.H. 843.

a. ناصر الدنيا و الدين   احمد شاه السلطان

b. *Variety,* in two sizes. *Square* area reverse. A.H. 830, 831, 837, 840, 843, 845, 846.

4. GHIÁS-UD-DÍN MUHAMMAD. *a.* Small coins. Copper. A.H. 849, 850.

غياث الدنيا و الدين   محمد شاه السلطان

b. Square coins. A.H. 856 ? Similar legends, with the prefix of

السلطان الاعظم on one face and ابو المحامد on the other.

7. MAHMÚD. Silver. A.H, 891, 903, 911.

Silver and Copper. A.H. 870.

Copper. A.H. 869, 900, 909, 917.

8. MUZAFFAR SHÁH. Gold. E.I. collection. A.H. 929. Silver.

Copper. A.H. 922, 923, 924, 928.

10. MAHMÚD II. Silver.

11. BAHADUR (KUTB-UD-DÍN). Silver.

Copper. A.H. 937, 938, 940.

قطب الدنيا و الدين ابو الفضل ٩۴٠

ابو المظفر بهادر شاه السلطان

13. MAHMÚD BIN LATIF III. (KUTB-UD-DÍN).

Gold. A.H. 946, 947, 950, (960, engraved above).

Silver. Struck at Muhammadábád. A.H. 961.

Copper. A.H. 946, 947, 949.

14. AHMAD SHÁH (KUTB-UD-DÍN).

Silver. A.H. 968. Copper. A.H. 961.

15. MUZAFFAR SHÁH BIN MAHMÚD. Gold. Weight, 185 grs. A.H. 977.

Silver. A.H. 969, 979. Copper. A.H. 969, 971, 978.

المويد بتايد الرحمن النصر الدنيا و الدين

مظفر شاه بن محمود شاه السلطان ٩٧٧

Another contemporary dynasty, whose history is closely interwoven with the annals of Dehli, Málwah, and Gujarát, claims a passing notice, both for the heroism of its leaders, the interest attaching to the recovery of power by the Hindús, and the re-establishment of a kingdom which might possibly have progressed into a more permanent form had its adversaries been confined to the detached and weakened Muslim monarchies encircling its frontiers, but which was destined to fall, with the surrounding states of hostile creed, before the assaults of the alien Mughals, whom Bábar led into India.

Khumbo's victory over the combined Muhammadan forces of Málwah and Gujarát is commemorated by the costly "pillar of victory," at Chítor, an engraving of which faces this page.[1] And Sanga's valour and success are alike proclaimed by his Hindú title of the "*Kalas* (or pinnacle) of Méwar's glory,"[2] and as frankly acknowledged in his conqueror's own memoirs.

Khumbo's Monumental "Jaya Stambha."

"*The only thing in India to compare with this pillar of victory, erected by Rána Khoombo on his defeat of the combined armies of Malwa and Gujarát, is the Kutb Minár at Dehli. This column is* 122 *feet in height, the breadth of each face at the base is* 35 *feet. It has nine distinct stories. Around the chamber on the ninth story had been arranged on black marble tablets the whole genealogy of the Ránas of Chítor. Only one slab remains, the inscription on which records that 'in Samvat,* 1515, *the temple of Brimha was founded, and this year . . . this* Khírut Stambha *was finished.'"—Tod, ii.* 761. *The subjoined engraving is taken from Fergusson's History of Architecture, ii. p.* 635.

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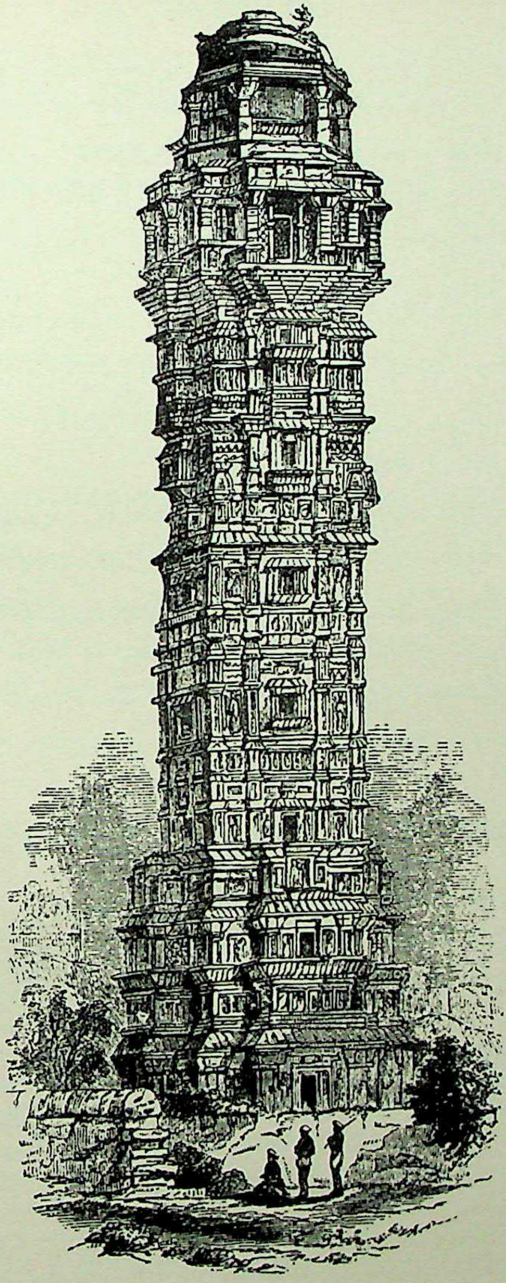
[1] Another memorial of this success was preserved in the family, and finally passed into the possession of Bábar, who tells us that "when Rána Sanga defeated Sultán Mahmúd and made him prisoner, the Sultán had on a splendid crown cap (*Táji kuláh*) and golden girdle, which fell into the hands of the Pagan, who, when he set Sultán Mahmúd at liberty, returned them. They were now with Bikramajit. His elder brother, Ratansi, who had succeeded to his father as Rána, and who was now in possession of Chítor, had sent to desire his younger brother to give them up to him, which he refused to do. By the persons who now come to wait upon me, he now sent me this crown and golden girdle."—Erskine's Memoirs of Bábar, p. 385.

[2] Tod's Rájasthan, i. p. 299.



PILLAR OF VICTORY AT CHÍTOR.

THE GEHLÓT KINGS OF MÉWAR.

SAMVAT.	A.D.	
1331	1275	Chítor captured by 'Alá-ud-dín.
1357	1301	Accession of Hamir. He recovers Chítor.
1421	1365	Khaitsi.
1439	1373	Lakha Rána.
1454	1398	Mokulji.
1475	1419	*Kumbho.* (Defeats the armies of Gujarát and Málwah, and captures Mahmúd Khiljí in A.D. 1440.)
1525	1469	Ooda.
1530	1474	Raimal.
1565	1509	*Sanga.*[1] (Finally defeated by Bábar, at Kanwa, in 1527 A.D.)

Coins of Rána Kumbho and of his grandson Sanga, were engraved and published by James Prinsep in 1835.[2]

No. 309. Copper. Square. Fig. 26. Prinsep.

***Obverse*—कभक *Kambhaka*, with the symbol ⊞| : dotted margin outside the square area.**

***Reverse*—यकलिंग *Eklinga* (the celebrated temple near Oodipúr).**[3]

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[1] *Singram Sing*, "the lion of war."—Tod, i. p. 292.

[2] Jour. As. Soc. Bengal, pl. iv. figs. 24, 25, 26. See also Prinsep's Essays, vol. i. p. 298, pl. xxiv. Prinsep was able to decipher only two letters of the name of *Kumbho* कभ. The full reading has been communicated to me by General Cunningham, who is in possession of better specimens of the coins in question.

[3] "The strange gods of the Jumna and Ganges have withdrawn a portion of the zeal of the Gehlotes from their patron divinity Eklinga, whose díwán (*Ekling ka díwán*) or vicegerent is the Rána. The temple of Eklinga, situated in one of the narrow defiles leading to the capital (six miles north of Oodipúr) is an immense structure, though more sumptuous than elegant. It is built entirely of white marble, most elaborately carved and embellished. . . The brazen bull, placed under his own dome, facing the sanctuary of the phallus, is nearly of the natural size, in a recumbent posture. It is cast (hollow) of good shape, highly polished, and without flaw, except where the hammer of the Tatar had opened a passage in the hollow of the flank in search of treasure."—Tod, i. pp. 222, 515.

The jealousy displayed by Mahmúd Khiljí at Rána Kumbho's presuming to coin money is amusingly recorded by Ferishtah.

وهم در آن ايام سلطان محمود خلجي متوجه ولايت جيتور
كرديد رانا كوينها از طريق مدار او مواسا پيش آمده پارۀ زر و نقره
مسكوك پيشكش فرستاد و چون آن سكه رانا كوينها داشت باعث
ازدياد غضب محمودي كرديده پيشكش را پس فرستاد

—Ferishtah, text, ii. p. 495; Briggs, iv. p. 221.

SANGA.

No. 310. Copper. Samvat, 1580; A.D. 1523. Figs. 24, 25. Prinsep.

Obverse—श्री रण संग्रमसिंह सं १५८० *Srí Sangrama Sinha.* Sam. 1580.

Reverse—Trisul and Swastika emblems.

THIRTY-SECOND KING (A.H. 855[1]–894; A.D. 1450–1488).

The vigorous rule of the Afghán Buhlól Lódi offers a strong contrast to the inane weakness of the sway of the two miscalled Syuds who preceded him. His lengthened supremacy of thirty-eight years, however, affords but little of variety to dilate upon. The principal characteristics of his domination being defined in the energetic and successful subjection of his local governors, and a prolonged war, marked by the utmost determination on both sides, with the kings of Jaunpúr: for a long time neither one party nor the other can be said to have obtained any very decided advantage, such as might have been expected to result from the great efforts made on either side. The balance of success generally terminated in favour of the monarch of Dehli; and at length, in the year 893 A.H., after a twenty-six years' war, he finally re-annexed the kingdom of Jaunpúr to his own empire. It is recorded of this Sultán, that, unlike Eastern monarchs in general, he was no respecter of pomps and ceremonies, remarking "that it was enough for him that the world knew he was king, without his making a vain parade of royalty."

---

[1] Buhlól's actual accession is fixed, in the History of the Afgháns, edited by Dorn, at 17th Rabí'ul awwal, 855 A.H. *Vide* page 46, edit. Oriental Translation Fund. Nizám-ud-dín and Badáoni concur.

No. 311 (pl. v. fig. 162). Silver (impure). Average weight, 144·4 grs. Common. A.H. 858, 859, 860, 861, 863, 876, 879, 882, 887, 888, 889, 890, 892, 893, 895.

المتوكل علي	في زمن
الرحمن بهلول	امير المومنين
شاه سلطان	خلدت خلافته
بحضرت دهلي	٢ * *

No. 312. Silver and Copper. Weight, 52 grs.

Obverse—بهلول شاه سلطان بحضرت دهلي

Reverse—الخليفه امير المومنين خلدت خلافته

No. 313. Copper. Average weight, 71 grs. A.H. 855, 863, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 873, 875, 877, 878, 879, 887, 888.

Obverse—بهلول شاه سلطان

Reverse—دار الملك دهلي

No. 314. Copper. Weight, 67 grs. A.H. 886, 889, 893, 894.

Obverse—Legend similar to No. 313.

Reverse—٨٨٦ * * الخليفه

No. 315. Copper. Average weight, 140 grs. A.H. 877, 878, 879, 892.

Obverse { Centre—بهلول شاه
Margin—السلطان

Reverse—٨٧٧ نايب امير المومنين

I subjoin the results of some assays of coins of Buhlól Lódi and his son Sikandar, conducted under the native process:—

1.	A.H. 858.	Wt. 138 grs.	Result—Silver 0 grs.	(No. 311.)
2.	A.H. 859.	Wt. 143 grs.	Result—Silver, 15·3 grs.	(No. 311.)
3.	A.H. 882.	Wt. 145 grs.	Result—Silver, 14 grs.	(No. 311.)
4.	A.H. 893.	Wt. 141 grs.	Result—Silver, 6·7 grs.	(No. 311.)

Sikandar bin Buhlól.

5.	A.H. 904.	Wt. 136 grs.	Result—Silver, 7 grs.	(No. 316.)
6.	A.H. 910.	Wt. 134 grs.	Assayed together, total result, a mere trace of silver.	(No. 316.)
7.	A.H. 918.	Wt. 139 grs.		(No. 316.)
8.	A.H. 919.	Wt. 139 grs.		(No. 316.)
9.	A.H. ?	Wt. 137 grs.	Result—Silver, 5 grs.	(No. 316.)

NOTE ON THE COINS OF BUHLÓL LÓDI.

Amid the chance references to the cost of articles of every-day consumption and other current prices to be found in the works of Indian authors, who flourished shortly after the reign of Buhlól Lódi, we meet with frequent repetition of the term *Buhlóli*, as applied to a recognized and *quasi*-standard coin of the period.[1] Abúl Fazl, the comprehensive recapitulator of the various independent currencies assimilated or adapted by his patron Akbar, had already sufficiently declared its intrinsic value as $\frac{1}{40}$th part of a *rupee*,[1] and its weight as 1 *tolah*, 8 *máshas*, and 7 *ratis*, though there were conflicting opinions as to the exact sum represented by the figures in question. In addition to these identifications, the *Buhlóli* was stated to have succeeded to the previous functions of the *paisa*, and to have constituted the connecting link between that coin and the *dám*, in which the entire

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[1] "In Ibráhím bin Sikandar's time, corn, clothes, and every kind of merchandize, were cheaper than they had ever been known to be in any other reign,

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except, perhaps, in the time of Sultán 'Alá-ud-din *Khilji*. . . . . In the time of Sikandar, also, the markets were very cheap, but still not so much so as in the time of Ibráhím. Ten *maunds* of corn could be purchased for one *Buhlóli*; five *sirs* of clarified butter, and ten yards of cloth, could be purchased for the same coin. If one (man) offered four *maunds* (of corn) for the *Buhlóli*, another would offer five, and some even more than that, until at last . . . ten *maunds* would sell for a *Buhlóli*. Gold and silver were only procurable with the greatest difficulty. A horseman received five *tankas* a month, and if any one spent 100 *tankas* he might be considered to be possessed of great wealth. If a traveller wished to proceed from Dehli to Agra, one *Buhlóli* would suffice for the expenses of himself, his horse, and four attendants."—Elliot's Index, pp. 273, 292, quoting the "Zubdat ul Tawáríkh" of Núr ul Hakk. The work is an expansion and amplification of his father's Táríkh Hakki, which was composed in A.H. 1005 (A.D. 1596-7). Abd ul Hakk states that after completing his selections from Ziá Barni, he was indebted to the Táríkh-i Bahádur Sháhi, of Sám Sultán Bahádur Gujráti, for his information down to the close of the reign of Buhlól Lódi, and thereafter his knowledge was derived from verbal and personal investigations.

[1] دام مسین نقدیست وزن پنج تانک که یک تولچه و هشت ماشه و هفت سرخ باشد ـ چهلم بخش روپیه ـ نخست آنرا پیسه گفتے و بهلولي نیز خواندے امروز بدان نام اشتهار دارد ـ یک سو ضرب فلان جائي و دیگر جانب سال و مه

—Áín Akbari, Calcutta text, p. 27; Gladwin's translation, i. p. 35; Blochmann's ditto, p. 31. The passage in question goes on to explain, that in Akbar's time the term *jítal* had been so far modified in its meaning and application as to have come to be used as a definition for an imaginary division, "in account," of $\frac{1}{25}$ of a *dám*.

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revenues of the State were assessed under the Great Mughal. These definitions, however apparently complete, left several practical points undetermined; it was not expressly stated whether the *Buhlóli* was composed of copper, or of the mixed compromise of metals, so exaggeratedly favoured in the contemporary mint system: the preferable inference certainly pointed to the former conclusion, but, on the other hand, there was no such copper piece of Buhlól *Lódi* to be found, in the whole range of modern collections, as would at all assimilate with the heavy mass of that metal rising up to, if not over, 323·5625 grains, which clearly constituted the authorized coined *dám* of Shír Sháh and his imitator, Akbar.

Moreover, the subject was encumbered with an altered scale of proportions, both in the official increase of the weight of the silver coins under Shír Sháh, and the subsidiary question of the simultaneous advance of the copper standard, or a possible re-adjustment of conflicting ratios dependent upon progressive changes in the values of the two metals. Shír Sháh's *rupee*, with which he replaced the old *tankah*, avowedly involved an advance of 3 grains upon the old standard of 175 grains; and I shall be in a position to show in detail from his own coins the relative increments, which, however, form only a secondary portion of the present argument.

But what the new numismatic data, aided by stray waifs from written history and tradition enable us now to assert is, that the *paisa*, wherever it obtained its more modern name, was simply, to all intents and purposes, the mere successor of the double *kársha* of remote antiquity, one of the primitive measures of copper adverted to in the "Laws of Manu,"[1] and whose exact counterpart, singular to say, declares itself in the earliest scheme of Egyptian Metrology under the nearly parallel term, which the hieroglyphics render as 2 KeT.[1]

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[1] *Kársha* कार्ष s.; Tamil, *Kásu*, "cash;" Toda, *Kas;* Chinese, "Cash;" the *Kahdpana* of Ceylon (Mahawanso), and the Western Cave Inscriptions.

To all appearance the recognized weight retained in full its theoretical place and position in India, though practically as tangible money it is found to be represented by two single *kársha* pieces. Of this latter coin of 140 grains, we can quote continuous examples, ranging from the archaic copper coins of Rámadatta[2] to the coarse mintages of the early Patháns,[3] and onwards, in consecutive order, till Buhlól Lódi assimilated their fabric to the type and execution of his mintages in the higher metals; but the vitality and immutability of the ancient measure is proved triumphantly by its acceptance, so to say, intact, in all the minor mints under Bábar,

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The Mitákshará (*circa* A.D. 1049) defines the *Kárshika* as "measured by a *Kársha* (*Karshenonmita*)," and the copper *Kársha* itself is described as *Támrasya Vikára*, or "copper transformed," *i.e.* worked up from its crude metallic state into some generally recognized form.—Wilson, Ariana Antiqua, p. 404; Prinsep's Essays, i. p. 53; G. Bühler, Bombay Branch Jour. Roy. As. Soc. October, 1868; Cowell, in Elphinstone, p. 89; Burnouf, Intro. à l'Hist. Bud. pp. 236, 258; Spence Hardy, Manual of Buddhism, pp. 119, etc.: Bombay Jour. As. Soc. (1853) (1854) p. 1.; Inscriptions, pp. 3, 9, (1862) p. 1, and (1863) p. 1 *et seq.* See also Yájnavalkya, § 363; Amara Kosha, ii. pp. 9, 86.

[1] ANCIENT EGYPTIAN WEIGHTS.

A. Circa 1400 grains = MeN, or VTeN (Maneh ?).
B. Circa 700 grains = 5 KeT.
C. Circa 280 grains = (2 KeT).
D. Circa 140 grains = KeT.
E. Circa 70 grains = (½ KeT).

The copper coins of the Ptolemies follow this standard; their gold and silver standards adhere to the Aeginetan weight.—R. S. Poole, Smith's Dictionary of the Bible, iii. p. 1732.

[2] Prinsep's Essays, i. p. 216, pl. xx. figs. 47, 48.

[3] Balban's copper coin, No. 114, seems to have been a half *kársha*. So also the piece of Jalál-ud-dín Fírúz, No. 123, and others in succession.

where copper was struck as an inferior metal, and left to assert its own value, for, to its surface, the conqueror, following the custom of the west, declined to attach his name.

The author of the "Institutes of the Emperor Akbar" gives a second or alternative definition of the value and intrinsic contents of the assimilated *paisa*, *Buhlóli*, or *dám*, as equal to five *tanks*. Whatever doubt might once have existed as to the measure of this weight, is now satisfactorily set at rest by the coins themselves; the *tank*, in short, is merely the old *dharana* of 32 *ratis* (or 56 grains)[1] which, even at the remote period of the crude tabulation of weights, under the simple nomenclature of the seeds of the earth, from whence their denominations were chiefly obtained—had already acquired the optional name of *puráṇa*, "old."

The two systems are fully represented in the current coinage of the Patháns, and conjointly offered considerable facilities for the settlement of broken change. The 40 *double kárshas*, or 80 current *single kárshas*, or 160 *half-kárshas* (No. 183), were equal to 200 copper *tanks*, either of which amounts represented the established value of a silver *tankah*.[2]

In respect to the weights of copper, in either case, the totals ran 280 grains × 40 = 11200 grains, and 56 × 200 = 11200 grains.

These figures have an additional importance in the present instance, as they establish conclusively what was heretofore somewhat of a matter of conjecture,[1] that the ratio of copper to silver was 64 : 1 (11200÷175=64).

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[1] See p. 221 *antè*, Bábar's Table of Weights, 32 *ratis* = 1 *tang*.

[2] Sir H. Elliot has preserved a curious record of the practical working of the intricate sub-divisional exchanges of the lower coinage under the head of "*Damṛi* دمري दमड़ी. In the Dehli territory, the term is applied to the sub-divisions of a village. Thus in Gopálpúr, of Rohtak, there are 150 *damrís*, each *damrí* being equivalent to twenty-five *kachcha bighas*. But *damrí* is commonly known as a nominal coin, equal to $3\frac{1}{8}$ or $3\frac{1}{4}$ *dáms*; or between two and three *gandas*—so that a *damrí* varies from 8 to 12 *cowrís*, according to the good-will and pleasure

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of unscrupulous Banyas. It may be useful to subjoin from the 'Díwán Pasand' a table showing the value of *damrís* and *dáms*:—

1	*damrí*	3¼	*dáms.*	
2	„	6¼	„	1 *chhaddm.*
3	„	9¼	„	
4	„	12½	„	1 *adhela.*
5	„	15	„	
6	„	18¾	„	¾ *paisa.*
7	„	22	„	
8	„	25	„	1 PAISA.
9	„	28	„	
10	„	31¼	„	1¼ „
11	„	34¼	„	
12	„	37¼	„	1½ „
13	„	40	„	
14	„	44	„	1¾ „
15	„	47	„	
16	„	50	„	1 TAKA.

The table is given with some slight variations in the 'Zubdatu'l Ḳawánín,' but in neither are the smaller fractional amounts given with correctness." Sir H. Elliot, at the same time, is careful to warn us that the popular *dáms* quoted in this table have nothing in common with the *dám* of Akbar's revenue accounts (ii. p. 81).

[1] "The tale of shells compared to weight of silver may be taken on the authority of the *Lílavati*:—20 *kapardakas* (shells or cowries) = 1 *kákiní*; 4 *kákiní* = 1 *pana*, *karshápana*, or *kárshika*; 16 *pana* (= 1 *puráṇa* of shells) = 1 *bherma* (of silver); 16 *bhermas* = 1 *nishka* (of silver). It may be inferred that one shell is valued at 1 *raktika* of copper; 1 *pana* of shells at 1 *pana* of copper; and 64 *panas* at one *tólaka* of silver, which is equal in weight to 1 *pana* of copper. And it seems remarkable that the comparative value of silver, copper, and shells, is nearly the same at this time [1798] as it was in the days of *Bháskara*."

The comparative value of silver and copper was the same in the reign of Akbar. For the *dám*, weighing 5 *tánks*, or 20 *máshas* of copper, was valued at the 1-40th of the Jalálí rupee, weighing 12½ *máshas* of pure silver; whence we have again the proportion of 64 : 1.—H. T. Colebrooke, Asiatic Researches, v. p. 92.

[Colebrooke was in error in regard to the relative value of silver and copper obtaining in Akbar's time, as will be shown hereafter.]

THIRTY-THIRD KING (A.H. 894–923; A.D. 1488–1517).

Some time before his decease, Buhlól had nominated as his successor his son Nizám, who, not altogether without opposition, ascended the inperial *masnad* under the title of Sikandar Sháh. In the division of his dominions in 883 A.H., the Sultán had assigned the kingdom of Jaunpúr to his son Bárbak. On attaining supreme power, Sikandar demanded the nominal allegiance of his brother in the still cherished recitation of his own name in the public prayers of the country over which Bárbak ruled; this homage being denied, it was deemed necessary to compel its concession by force of arms. In the action which ensued, Bárbak was worsted, but was subsequently forgiven, and reinstated in his government. During the succeeding years the Sultán was occupied in the subjection of Sultán Sharf, which was completed by the capture of his stronghold of Bíána, and in the suppression of two somewhat formidable insurrections in Jaunpúr and Oude. In 897 A.H., Sikandar extended his conquests over the whole of Bihár, dispossessing Husain, the last of the regal line of the Sharḳis, who was forced to take refuge with 'Alá-ud-dín, king of Bengal. With this monarch the ruler of Dehli arrived at a satisfactory understanding, involving a mutual recognition of boundaries and other rights. In 909 A.H., the Sultán, for the first time, fixed his residence at Agrah, which henceforth was to supersede Dehli as the metropolis of Hindústán. Sikandar's reign was disgraced by an unusual display of bigotry, evidenced principally in a persevering destruction of Hindú temples, on the sites of which were raised Muslim mosques.

No. 316 (pl. v. fig. 167). Copper. Average weight. 139 grs.
A.H. 894, 895, 896, 898, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920.

المتوكل علي الرحمن	في زمن
سكندر شاه	امير المومنين
بهلول شاه سلطان	خلدت خلافته
بحضرت دهلي	٩٠٦

No. 317. Copper. Average weight, 55·5 grs.
A.H. 905, 907.

Obverse—المتوكل علي الرحمن سكندر شاه بهلول شاه

Reverse—امير المومنين خلدت خلافته

NOTE ON SIKANDAR LODI'S COINAGE.

As Buhlól Lódi's name is associated with a fixed money value in account, involving a seeming return to a partially obscured system of reckoning, so his son Sikandar's title is identified with a coinage which took a more definite and prominent position amid the succeeding currencies of the land. These two issues, confessedly composed of different metals, might at first sight be supposed to have but little in common; but on a more close examination the Sikandari *tankah* is found to have formed the connecting link between the *Buhlóli* and the *dám* of Shír Sháh; there is one break, however, in the completeness of this continuity, inasmuch as the *Buhlóli* was made up of two *kárshas*, while the Sikandari *tankah* doubled that amount; twenty pieces constituting the change for a *silver tankah*, instead of the 40 *Buhlólis* or 80 *kárshas* of the previous scheme of exchange.

In the one case the design seems to have been to reintroduce the division by 40 to the supercession of the complicated 64 *káṇis*, with its attendant gradational proportions of silver and copper; in the second instance, the same motive is more definitely developed in the rate established of 20 Sikandaris to the *silver tankah*, and the complete rejection of all traces of 64ths, inasmuch as the value of the new piece would not accord with any of the established *káṇi* pieces, nor would it even range with an imaginary division of half a *Shashkáṇi*. The reverting to the alloy of mixed silver and copper regained all the old advantages of the portability of the coin, and all objection to the use of composite metal was removed in the limitation of the entire issue to one average value; while, on the other hand, the difficulty and loss incident to the recovery of the silver from this money for the construction of ornaments, etc., secured for it a permanency in its coined form which pure silver and gold could never have commanded.

The estimate of intrinsic contents derived from the accompanying Assay Table gives the rough average of silver to each coin as 5·647 grains; and adding the price of the copper basis at the rate of 64 copper to one of silver, we get something over a total silver value of 7·747 grains.[1] The parallel $\frac{1}{20}$th of the 175 grains of the *full silver tankah* would be 8·750 grains, so that the combined metals furnish a very fair approximation to the value theoretically required, especially if we make allowances for the very imperfect manner in which the two metals were obviously amalgamated and distributed in the general mass.

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[1] This is merely a tentative calculation, taking 41 coins to the lb. (it should be more exactly 41·142). Then 299·1148 × 24 = 7178·7552 ÷ 41 = 175·09208 ÷ 31 = 5·64813, average grains of silver per coin. Copper contents remaining, 140—5·648 = 134·353, at 64 grains per grain of silver = 2·0989 grains, or a total silver value of 7·74703 grains. Gen. Cunningham's assay, by the native process, gives a much lower average of silver contents, rising only to 4·18 grains per coin. See p. 324, *antè*. But in neither one case nor the other need we expect any very uniform results. The Calcutta table itself furnishes ample evidence of the irregularity of the action of the Dehli Mint, which we have seen, by Fírúz's own confession (p. 281), had very much its own way in regard to the equitable value of the mixed metal coins put forth from time to time.

List of Dehli Coins, composed of silver and copper, in varying proportions, forwarded to the Calcutta Mint for examination by Edward Thomas, Esq., C.S., 10th June, 1853.

A.H.	Reference to Numbers of Coins in "Pathán Sultáns."	Weight in Grains.	Dwts. Fine Silver, per lb. in each.
	SIKANDAR BUHLÓL.		
895	No. 316.	143·438	1·900
896	,,	142·163	2·025
,,	,,	142·936	1·925
,,	,,	138·913	1·615
,,	,,	140·088	2·200
898	,,	141·500	1·5625
900	,,	140·800	2·6000
,,	,,	127·600	3·0125
903	,,	143·100	4·650
904	,,	142·500	5·624
907	,,	143·250	15·5
,,	,,	141·150	16·0
,,	,,	139·900	16·0
905	,,	144·500	17·5
909	,,	141·500	15·0
910	,,	140·200	15·0
912	,,	142·500	12·0
,,	,,	135·500	15·0
913	,,	132·250	15·0
,,	,,	140·750	15·0
914	,,	140·000	15·0
,,	,,	138·500	15·5
,,	,,	141·000	16·5
,,	,,	140·500	16·0
918	,,	138·250	10·0
,,	,,	133·250	10·0
,,	,,	139·750	9·0
,,	,,	125·000	8·0
919	,,	135·250	32·0
,,	,,	137·250	8·0
,,	,,	137·500	8·0
.			299·1140

Under the written evidence of contemporary and other authors, the authoritative value of the Sikandari is equally well established in its full identity. Bábar, in his Memoirs, adverts to his own gift to his son Humáyún, on the occasion of the distribution of the accumulated treasures of the *Lódis*, as amounting to "70 *laks*," we must conclude of current coin. Nizám-ud-dín Ahmad specifies the like sum of undefined but manifestly ordinary coin;[1] Khwandamír more explicitly designates the gift as being composed of Sikandari *tankahs;*[2] and Ferishtah, to complete the definition, capitalizes the sum in more modern currencies as "350,000 rupees,"[3] which determines the ruling value of the piece at two *dáms*, or a sufficient approach to the amount which the intrinsic contents of the coins now assayed would average. Furthermore, the system of computing by double *dáms* was clearly widely spread and of very general acceptance;[4] so much so that Akbar himself is found to have provided a special copper coin of that denomination, truly of very inconvenient proportions,[5] seemingly more designed to meet the contingency of an appeal to such a weight in its legalized form than for any purposes of practical utility in the general circulation.

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[1] Nizám-ud-dín Ahmad *Bakhshi*, who was learned in currencies, fixes the sum of "70 *laks*" as given to Humáyún, but there is no specification of any particular *coin*. The text runs—خزاین برکشاده هفتاد لک شاهزادهٔ عالمیان محمد همایون مرزا انعام فرموده امرارا ده لک و هشت لک و شش لک و پنج لک p. 132, E.I. MS., etc.

[2] I have little hesitation in correcting his "7 *laks*" into 70. Most of these references were collected by Erskine (History of Bábar and Humáyún, ii. p. 544). He, however, missed the passage from Nizám-ud-dín; and in the absence of the coins, properly hesitated to correct the seven *laks* of Khwandamír, whose information was otherwise most exact, as he was a contemporary and well-informed author. See Elliot's Index, p. 108; Ferishtah, Briggs, ii. p. 48.

[3] سیصد و پنجاه هزار روپیه نقد p. 282. Khâfi Khán has—سه لک و پنجاه هزار تنکهٔ نقره رائج الوقت p. 53, Calcutta text.

[4] See Sir H. Elliot's table, quoted p. 364; Erskine's Bábar, i. pp. 542–4.

[5] Such a piece is extant in the British Museum, weighing 664 grains, an

T. Inscriptions at Dehli of Sikandar bin Buhlól.

1. Dated A.H. 903, on the Dargáh of Yúsaf Ḳatál.
2. Dated A.H. 906, on the bastion of Shaháb-ud-dín Táj Khán.
3. Dated A.H. 909, on the lower entrance of the Kutb Minár.
4. Dated A.H. 912, to the following effect:—

در عهد دولت همايون سلطان الاعظم المعظم المتوكل على الرحمن
سكندر شاه بن بهلول شاه سلطان خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه بنا كرد
اين كنبد بنده اميدوار رحمت پروردكار دولت خان خواجه محمد
غره ماه رجب سنه اثني عشر و تسعماية

5. Dated A.H. 913, on the arch of the Maḳbarah of Fírúz Sháh (p. 310, *ante*).

THE YARD MEASURE OR GAZ OF SIKANDAR LO'DI.

Abúl Fazl, in noticing the various descriptions of yard-measures introduced at different times into Hindústán, makes incidental mention of certain coins designated Sikandaris—upon the basis of a given number of diameters of which the *gaz* of Sikandar Lódi was authoritatively defined. The class of money described under No. 316 evidently furnished, among other uses, the data for this singularly defined measure. Any tyro in Indian Numismatics, under whose eye specimens of this mintage may chance to pass, cannot fail to remark that, imperfect as their configuration undoubtedly is, as compared

amount which is rather over the estimated ratio; but the coin is sharp, unworn, and is, perhaps, affected by the oxydation of its once clear surface.

with our modern machine-struck money—yet, that they hold a high place among their predecessors in respect to their improved circularity of form, and general uniformity of diameter—points which had certainly been less regarded in the earlier products of the Dehli mints.

The passage alluded to is to the following textual effect:—

سلطان سکندر لودهي در هندوستان نیز گزے در میان آورد و آنرا
چهل و یک و نیم اسکندري اندازه گرفت * وآن مسین نقدي است
گرد نقره آمیز * جنت آشیانے نیم دیگر افزود و بچهل و دو قراه گرفت *
مقدار آن سي و دو انگشت بود * و از پیشین حکما نیز بدینسان
برگذارند * ودر زمان شیرخان و سلیم خان * * بهمین گز پیمودند تا
سال سي و یکم الهي اگرچه در کرپاس گز اکبرشاهي بود• و بچهل و شش
انگشت برابر لیکن در زراعت و عمارت اسکندري بکار داشتے

—Calcutta text, p. 296.

With a view to make these coins, even at the present day, contribute towards our knowledge of the true length of this *gaz*, which is still a *vexata quæstio*, I have carefully measured a set of 42 of these pieces, arranged in one continuous line; the result is, that the completion of the 30th inch of our measure falls exactly opposite the centre of the 42nd coin.

The specimens selected for trial have not been picked, beyond the rejection of five very palpably worn pieces, out of the total 48 of Mr. Bayley's coins, which I have at my disposal.

The return now obtained I should be disposed to look upon as slightly below the original standard, notwithstanding that it differs from the determination of the measure put forth by Prinsep;[1] but I must add that Prinsep himself distrusted his own materials, and was evidently prepared to admit a higher rate than he entered in his leading table.

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[1] Prinsep's Essays, Useful Tables, pp. 123, 126.

Since the observations here reproduced were printed at Dehli, in 1851, Gen. Cunningham has examined the general question, from an independent point of view, and to establish other coincidencies.[1] His measurement of the given number of Sikandaris is found slightly to exceed the above amount; this result I was, to a certain extent, prepared for, though I did not anticipate so close, and I may say satisfactory, an approximation to my own tentative returns. The very nature of the materials, constructed, as we have reason to suppose, from a hammered bar or imperfectly cast rod of mixed silver and copper (under the similitude of a light crowbar), divided off in cross sections to form the individual coins,[2] did not encourage us to expect any approach to the accuracy of modern

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[1] General Cunningham remarks—"To determine the exact value of those measures we must have recourse to the unit from which they were raised. This is the *angula*, or 'finger,' which in India is somewhat under three-quarters of an inch. By my measurement of 42 copper coins of Sikandar Lódi, which we know to have been adjusted to fingers' breadths, the *angula* is ·72976 of an inch. Mr. Thomas makes it slightly less, or ·72289. The mean of our measurements is ·72632 of an inch, which may be adopted as the real value of the Indian finger, or *angula*, as I found the actual measure of many native fingers to be invariably under three-quarters of an inch. According to this value, the *hasta*, or cubit, of 24 *angulas*, would be equal to 17·43168 inches, and the *dhanu*, or bow, of 96 *angulas*, would be 5·81 feet. But as 100 *dhanus* make one *nalwa*, and 100 *nalwas* make one *kroṣa* or *kos*, it seems probable that the *dhanu* must have contained 100 *angulas* to preserve the centenary scale (the same confusion of the numbers 96 and 100 exists in the monetary scale, in which we have 2 *bdraganis*, or twelvers, equal to 1 *punchi*, or twenty-fiver). According to this view, the *hasta*, or cubit, would have contained 25 fingers instead of 24, and its value would have been 18·158 inches, which is still below many of the existing *hastas*, or cubits, of the Indian Bázárs. Adopting this value of the *hasta*, the higher measures would . . give 6052 feet for the *kroṣa*, . . or within 15 feet of that derived from the statement of Megasthenes."—The Ancient Geography of India, by Gen. A. Cunningham. p. 575. (London: Trübner & Co., 1871.)

[2] See *antè*, pp. 225 *note*, 229; Gladwin's Ayin-i-Akbari, ii. p. 15.

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mechanical appliances, and to all appearance the presiding authorities of the period scarcely contemplated exceptional exactitude in this summary but ever-ready test. No doubt the fiscal administrators were furnished with critical official standards, but the immediate object in view in the present adjustment seems to have been to supply the mass of unlettered purchasers with a prompt means of checking the professional frauds of the shopkeepers,[1] so that the simple exhibition of a row of Sikandaris, the leading current coin of the realm, on the counter, would on the instant determine the fullness or deficiency of the tradesman's yard; constituting, in brief, a popular ready-reckoner, especially adapted to the notions and traditions of the indigènes. I freely accept Abúl Fazl's suggestion, that this *gaz* was no new measure of length introduced by Sikandar; the original (and possibly aboriginal) *gaz* was already obviously in full use and recognition, and Akbar himself, with all his needless but otherwise systematic innovations, had to confess, in the 31st year of his reign, that though he had carried his own *Akbari gaz* of 46 finger breadths into the cloth merchants' shops, that the Sikandari *gaz* of 32 fingers was still "employed for every other purpose;" and thus he confessedly met the difficulty by subsiding into the compromise of the *Iláhi gaz* of 41 fingers.[2]

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[1] See p. 164, *antè.*

[2] These numbers are suggestive; the ancient 32 (or half of 64) as superseded by the irregular totals of the Muslim theory. Abúl Fazl further confesses that "in some ancient books (کهن نامها) the *gaz* is said to consist of two spans and two inches (دو شبر و دو گره), and this *gaz* is divided into 16 equal parts (گره), each of which was subdivided into quarters called *pahar* (پهر प्रहर), so that the *pahar* was the $\frac{1}{64}$ of a *gaz*."—Gladwin's Ayin-i-Akbari, ii. p. 352; Calcutta text, p. 294.

In connexion with this question of normal Indian numbers, I may refer to the archaic Dravidian *káṇi* in the existing land measures of the south.—Prinsep, Useful Tables, p. 124.

Those earnest men who followed the pioneers of our conquest in Upper India, and who were content to identify themselves with *the* nation over whom they were appointed to rule, displayed much interest in the determination of the imperfectly preserved definitions of the Iláhi *gaz*. It was somewhat of a cardinal point with comparative strangers, who had to assimilate their feelings to local prejudices, to prove themselves in advance of the crude knowledge which insisted upon the supremacy of provincial standards; and so it came about that all sorts of positive data were put under contribution to establish the infinitesimal *unit* from which the more ample and enlarged land measures of Akbar's empire were avowedly derived. Hence investigations were instituted under many varied aspects—open tradition, extant buildings of historically defined measurement, barley corns of primeval repute, home and foreign men's forearms and fingers' breadths, square Akbari rupees, and very modern round "Mansúri" *paisa*, were pressed into the service. But, perhaps, the best and closest estimate was furnished by the crucial test of the "average of copper wires returned by the Tahsíldárs of Murádábád as the counterparts of the actual measures from which their *bighás* (*quasi*-acres) were formed," amounting to an average of 33·50 inches per *gaz*, on the rough calculation of three-fourths of an inch for each finger breadth.[1]

In the end, for all practical purposes of modern measurements, the Government of the day (1825-6) adopted, as a convenient solution, an arbitrary value for the Iláhi *gaz* of 33 English inches.

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[1] Prinsep's Essays, vol. ii., Useful Tables, p. 123; Jour. As. Soc. Bengal, iii. p. 88, and Mr. Cracroft's paper, vol. iii. 360; Elliot's Glossary, "Koș and Jaríb," ii. pp. 189, 194.

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THIRTY-FOURTH KING (A.H. 923–937; A.D. 1517–1530).

Ibráhím succeeded his father Sikandar; from the very commencement of his reign his arrogance disgusted the nobles of his own tribe of Lódi, who speedily sought to reduce his power by placing his brother, Jalál, on the throne of the kingdom of Jaunpúr. Having compassed this purpose, however, some doubt arose as to the wisdom of their own act; and hence an attempt was made to weaken Jalál by the withdrawal of several Amírs who had joined his standard. Jalál, detecting this design, determined upon active measures to secure himself; he therefore collected his forces and advanced to Kálpi, assuming the style of Sultán, with the title of Jalál-ud-dín. He next entered into negotiations with 'Ázim Humáyún, who held Kálinjar for Ibráhím, and at length induced him to desert the cause of the Emperor. 'Ázim Humáyún failed at the time of need, and Jalál was reduced to a position of much difficulty, from which, however, he had a favourable opportunity of extricating himself, by the success of a sudden march upon Agrah, which he found almost undefended; but, from some strange infatuation, he allowed himself to be deluded into treating with the governor of the city, and on the advance of Ibráhím he was compelled to flee to Gwálior, where he received a temporary shelter; he was, ultimately, after various adventures and escapes, captured and put to death.

The alarm excited by the unrestrained cruelties dictated by the distrustful disposition of the Sultán, led to numerous other revolts: among the rest, Daria Khán, viceroy of Bihár, openly disclaimed allegiance; and his son, Muhammad, who shortly succeeded him, even caused the Khutbah to be read, and coin to be struck, in his own name.[1] Daulat Lódi, the governor of some of the dependencies of the Punjáb, also rebelled, and solicited the protection of Bábar, who had already, in 930 A.H., obtained possession of Láhor. Subsequently, an expedition was organized against the ruler of Dehli under his own uncle, 'Alá-ud-dín; but in the engagement which ensued, the contingent of the Mughals was defeated with great slaughter. This was followed by the advance of Bábar in person; and on the 7th of Rajab, 932 A.H., on the celebrated battle-field of Paniput, Ibráhím, after an individually well-contested though ill-directed action, lost his kingdom and his life.

No. 318. Copper. Weight. 83 grs. Rare.

المتوكل على	في زمن
الرحمن ابراهيم شاه	امير المومنين
سكندر شاه	خلدت خلافته
سلطان	

No. 319. Copper. Weight, 87 grs. Rare.

Obverse—ابراهيم شاه سلطان

Reverse—امير المومنين خلدت خلافته

No. 320. Copper. Weight, 42 grs. Rare. A.H. *926*, 927.

Obverse— * * ابراهيم شاه سكندر

Reverse—امير المومنين خلدت خلافته ٩٢٦

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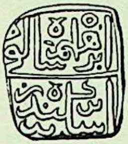
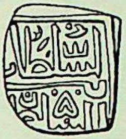
[1] Gladwin's Ayin-i Akbari.

No. 321. Copper. Weight, 110 grs. Col. Guthrie.





ابراهیم شاه لودے

بن سکندر

السلطان

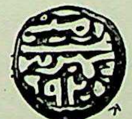
بن

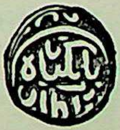
السلطان

The issue of this coin, which follows the Málwah *square* type of money, is supposed to commemorate the fraudulent acquisition of Chandéri by Ibráhím, who, taking advantage of the death of Muhammad Sháh (the rebel opponent of his regnant brother, Mahmúd of Málwah), obtained possession of the person of his heir, and placed a dependent of his own in charge of the country, from whence it passed in later days, by Rána Sanga's gift, to Madíni Ráo.

Bárbak of Jaunpúr.

No. 322. Silver and Copper. Weight, 120 grs. Rare.
A.H. 892, 894.





نائب

امیر المومنین

بشهر حونپور

۸۹۲

Centre.

باربکشاه

سلطان

Margin illegible.

THE MUGHAL (CHAGHATAI) CONQUEST.

The narrative of Bábar's persevering efforts towards the conquest of India, and the eventful career of his son Humáyún, are, perhaps, more pertinent to general history than germane to the limited notices of the local succession of the Pathán dynasty of Hindústán, with which we are immediately concerned. It may, therefore, be sufficient to indicate more concisely than usual the dates of the prominent occurrences in the Indian reigns of the two monarchs, under the tabular form already adopted, where it was felt desirable to economize space in these pages.

Bábar in India.

A.H.	A.D.	
932	1526	(9th Rajab.) Defeat and death of Ibráhím *Lódi*, at Paniput.
		(12th Rajab.) Bábar enters Dehli; on the Friday following he has public prayers pronounced in his name as Emperor; and with proper Mughal craving for plunder, has seals put upon the treasures of the old metropolis,[1] while he hastens on to Agrah to secure the accumulated wealth of the house of *Lódi*.[2]
		Capture of Jaunpúr by Humáyún.
		Surrender of Bíána, Gwálior, and Multán.

---

[1] In a similar spirit, Humáyún broke these seals on his "way home in 1527, and appropriated his father's money."—Bábar's Memoirs, pp. 368, 371; Erskine's History, i. p. 476.

[2] Bábar himself, in his Memoirs, has left upon record a concise epitome of the distribution of power in India at the moment of his conquest in A.D. 1526. "At the period when I conquered the country, five Musulmán kings and two pagans exercised royal authority. . . . One of these powers was the Afgháns, whose government included the capital, and extended from Behrah to Bihár. Jaunpúr, before it fell into the power of the Afghans, was held by Husain Sháh Sharḳi. . . . The second prince was Sultán Muhammad Muzaffar, in Gujarát; he had departed this life a few days before Sultán Ibráhím *Lódi's* defeat. . . . The

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A.H.	A.D.	
933	1527	Defeat of Rána Sanga at Kanwah; Bábar assumes the title of *Ghází* on this occasion.
934	1528	Capture of Chandéri (Madíni Rao's stronghold).
		(29th Jumáda'l ákhir.) Occupation of Lucknow.
		(5th Muharram, 935.) Occupation of Rantambhór.
935	1529	(Sh'abán.) Bihár subdued and entrusted to Muhammad Zamán Mírza.
		(27th Sh'abán.) Final defeat of the troops of the Afghán coalition. Treaty with Nuṣrat Sháh of Bengal.
937	1530	(5th Jumáda'l ákhir.) Bábar's death at Agrah.[1]

HUMÁYÚN IN INDIA.

A.H.	A.D.	
937	1530	(9th Jumáda'l awwal.) Accession. Division of governments—1. *Kámrán*,[2] Kábul and Kandahár; 2. *Askari Mírza*, Sambhal; 3. *Hindal Mírza*, Alwar (Méwat); 4. *Sulaimán Mírza*, Badakhshán.
		Kámrán takes Láhor and occupies the Punjáb.

---

third kingdom is that of the Bahmanis, in the Dakhan; but at the present time the Sultáns of the Dakhan have no authority or power left. The fourth king was Sultán Mahmúd, who reigned in the country of Málwah, which they likewise call Mándú. This dynasty was called the Khiljí. Rána Sanga, a pagan, had defeated them, and occupied a number of their provinces. . . . The fifth prince was Nuṣrat Shah, in the kingdom of Bengal. . . . The most powerful of the pagan princes, in point of territory and army, is the Rája of Bíjanagar. Another is Rána Sanga, who has attained his present high eminence, only in these later times, by his own valour and his sword. His original principality was Chítor."—Erskine's Memoirs of Bábar, p. 311.

[1] His dominions at the period of his decease "stretched from the river Amu to Bihár," etc.—Erskine's History, i. p. 526.

[2] Kámrán's coins are extant. The following is a description of a specimen in the East India Company's collection, struck at Kábul in A.H. 947:—

Silver. Weight, 71 grs.

Obverse—Area (diamond shaped) محمد کامران بادشاه غازي

Margin, الملك السلطان الاعظم الخاقان خلد الله تعالي ملكه
وسلطانه ضرب كابل سنه ۹۴۷

Reverse—Circular area, the *Kalimah*.

Margin, ابابكر الصديق عمر الفاروق عثمان العون علي المرتضي

A.H.	A.D.	
937	1530	Humáyún defeats the combined army under Mahmúd *Lódi* at Doura, and gets possession of Jaunpúr.
938	1532	Advances against Shír Khán at Chunar, but is obliged to return to meet the threatened hostility of Bahádur Sháh of Gujarát. Campaigns in Málwah, Gujarát, etc.
942	1535	Capture of the Fort of Champánír.
946	1539	(9th Safar.) Shír Sháh's perfidy at Chonsa (Chúpar Ghát); ruin of Humáyún's army, and his retreat to Agrah.
947	1540	Final defeat of Humáyun by Shír Sháh, near Kanauj, and flight of the former.

BÁBAR.

No. 323 (pl. v. fig. 172). Silver. Weight, 71·5 grs Very rare

Obverse—Centre, ظهير الدين محمد بابر بادشاه

Margin (worn) * * السلطان الاعظم

Reverse—Centre, لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله

Margin, علي المرتضي * * * *

No. 324 (pl. v. fig. 173). A silver coin of Bábar (East India Cabinet), somewhat similar to the above, has the word غازي at the end of the inscription on the obverse area, in addition to the legend detailed under No. 323; marking, in this addition, his very hazardous encounter with Rána Sanga in A.H. 933. Another specimen gives the full date of A.H. 936.

On the obverse margin is to be seen—الاعظم خاقان

Reverse—Area as in the last coin.

Margin, العون علي المرتضي

These silver coins correspond to the class of money designated by Abúl Fazl under the generic term of *Bábaris*, which he states weighed *one miṣḳál* each, and to have been rated in exchange at 2½ per rupee.[1] The constantly quoted *Sháh Rukhis* of contemporary authors constituted an identical currency, as this piece is also defined as the equivalent of 16 *dáms*,[2] which gives the like return of 2½ per rupee; in effect, Bábar's northern money appears to have been a mere continuation of the earlier issues of Sháh Rukh, the Mughal Sultán of Persia (A.H. 807-850), whose coinage was so largely spread over all Asia.[3]

HUMÁYÚN.

No. 325. Gold. Irregular weights, 8, 10, and 13 grs. Rare.

Obverse—لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله

Reverse—محمد همايون بادشاه غازي خلد الله تعالی ملكه

No. 326 (pl. v. fig. 175). Silver. Weight, 71 grs. A.H. 944. Very rare.

Obverse—Centre, محمد همايون غازي

Margin, الملك الامير السلطان الاعظم الخاقان خلد الله
تعالي ملكه و سلطانه ضرب اكره سنه ٩۴۴

The King, the Amír, the most mighty Sultán, the Khákán.
May Almighty God prolong his dominion and sovereignty!
Struck at Agrah, (in the) year 944.

Reverse—Centre,
لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله الله يرزق من يشاء بغير حساب

There is no god but God; Muhammad is the apostle of God.
God is bountiful unto whom He pleaseth, without measure.[4]

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[1] *Miṣḳál*=40 *ratis*. See pp. 222, 223, *antè*; Áín-i Akbari, Gladwin, ii. p. 198.

[2] Áín-i Akbari, ii. 209. "8 *laks* of *Sháhrukhis*=3,20,000 rupees, or 1 *kror* and 28 *laks* of *dáms*."—Erskine's Bábar, etc., i. p. 544.

[3] Fræhn, Recensio Numorum Muhammadanorum, pp. 430, 496.

[4] Kurán, Súrah ii. 208.

Margin, بصدق ابابكر بعدل عمر بحياي عثمان بعلم علي
رضي الله عنه

By the truth of Abábakr, by the justice of 'Umar, by the modesty of 'Usmán, by the wisdom of 'Alí, may God reward him.

No. 327 (pl. v. fig. 176). Silver. Weight, 71 grains. Struck at Agrah, 945 A.H. A variety, with a nearly square area, has the date 952 A.H.; the name of the place of mintage is obliterated.

No. 328 (pl. v. fig. 176*a*). A coin of the same type, which is unfortunately wanting in both date and place of mintage, has the countermark or Hall stamp of Kámrán, attesting the current value of the piece. Of this impress the following words are still legible: عدل كامران بادشاه غـ

Another silver coin of Humáyún (weight, 71 grains) has the محمد همايون غازي only, in an oblong area. The reverse area being circular, as in the specimen engraved, the legend itself is confined to the usual short symbol. The margins are much worn, but apparently vary slightly in their legends from those of the above coins. There are traces of the figures 937.

I have inserted the subjoined coins of Akbar in this place, irrespective of their order of date, with a view to keep together the various specimens of this foreign type of money, the issue of which seems to have been persevered in amid the migratory Mughal camps and temporarily occupied cities of India.

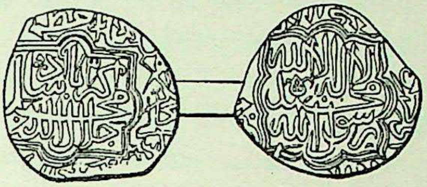
AKBAR.

No. 329. Gold. Weight, 18 grs. A.H. 969. Col. Guthrie.

Obverse—جلال الدين محمد اكبر بادشاه غازي ٩٦٩

Reverse—The *Kalimah.*

No. 330. Silver. Weight, 60 grs. A.H. 963. Col. Guthrie.



٩٦٣	
اكبر بادشاه	لا اله الا الله
محمد	محمد
جلال الدين	رسول الله
Margin— * سلطان الاعظم * *	Margin illegible.
* * تعالی	

ANONYMOUS COINS.

I have considered it preferable to class the anonymous coins hereunto appended, under a separate head, as although their dates would in general indicate the Sovereign during whose reign they were struck, still the absence of any name upon the individual piece might leave a possible doubt as to the true presiding authority of the moment, especially in money coming to us from such disturbed times as witnessed the issue of many of these *fulús;* and as exactitude is a high conceit among Numismatists, I would not knowingly so offend against the prejudices of caste as to claim reliance upon aught that was susceptible of critical question. These coins of unavowed kingship are therefore grouped in a series apart, an arrangement which has the advantage of bringing them all under one compact view, and developing in continuity, the special merit they possess, strangely enough in greater perfection than more imposing medals, viz., of assisting in the elucidation of the contemporaneous geographical status, and of indicating in the fact the relative importance, of the leading cities of the epoch.

These coins seem to date their origin from Bábar's conquest, and we recognize in the earlier specimens both the hand and the art of workmen other than indigenous. The practice of striking coin in subordinate cities also appears to have been an innovation introduced by the Mughals, who drew a wise distinction between the importance of the lower currency of copper and money fabricated from the more costly gold or silver. The absence of the Sultán's name likewise indicates a departure from Indian practice, under which we have uniformly seen the designation of the supreme authority impressed upon the copper money equally with the coins of higher value.

Bábar's introduction of so much of the leading ideals of his Bokhárá[1] money into Hindústán was destined to be attended with more permanence in the coins of the poor, whose standard he adopted, than in that of his more elaborately executed *dirhams* and *ashrafis*, in which he outraged local associations.

The average weight of the pieces of this class is very uniform at something over 140 grains, a total we have frequently met with in the earlier coins of the Pathán issues, 80 of which went to the old *tankah*, 4 to the modified *Sikandari*, and 32 to the foreign *Bábari* and *Sháh Rukhi.*

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[1] Fræhn's Recensio, p. 432, etc.; M. Soret, Lettre sur la Numismatique, June, 1843, p. 28.

Their relative value in exchange against silver may have varied from time to time; but the fact of Akbar's accepting copper as his universal standard shows that he felt that all important fluctuations, as might have been predicted, virtually took place in the more readily affected ratios of the precious metals.

No. 331. Copper. Weight, 142 grs. Agrah, A.H. 936. *Unique.*

Obverse—Circular area, within a margin of fine lines and dots run into a scroll pattern.

Legend—ضرب اگره

Reverse—Oblong area *(Mihrábi)*, with ornamental flowered scroll margin.

Legend—في تاريخ سنه ٩٣٦

No. 332. Copper. Weight, 135 grs. Mint, Fort of Agrah, A.H. 936.

Obverse—دارالضرب قلع اگره

Reverse as above.

No. 333. Copper. Weight, 142 grs. Agrah, Seat of the Khiláfat, A.H. 937, 938, 939, 490, 941, 942, 943.

Obverse—Plain surface, with the Legend—ضرب بدارالخلافه اگره

Reverse—Simple marginal lines encircle the field; the inner portions above and below the legend are filled in with scroll-work.

Legend—فی تاریخ سنه ٩٣٧

No. 334. Copper. Weight, 141 grs. Agrah, Seat of Justice, A.H. 943.

Obverse—ضرب بدار العدل اگره

Reverse as above.

No. 335. Copper. Weight, 141 grs. Láhor, Seat of the Khiláfat, A.H. 938, 939, 940.

Obverse—ضرب دارالخلافه لاهور

Reverse—في تاريخ سنه ٩٣٨

No. 336. Copper. Weight, 141 grs. Dehli, Seat of Government, A.H. 940,9 41, 942, 943.

Obverse—ضرب دارالملک دهلے

Reverse as usual.

No. 336*a*. Copper. Weight, 139 grs. Capital, Dehli, Seat of Government, A.H. 943. Unique. My cabinet.

Obverse—ضرب· دارالملک حضره دهلي

Reverse as usual.

No. 337. Copper. Weight, 143 grs. *Manḍú*, A.H. 941, 942. Humăyún in possession. ? (See Table, p. 380.) Rare.

Obverse—ضرب منڈو

Reverse as usual.

No. 338. Copper. Weight, 140 grs. Mint, Fort of Alwar, A.H. 936.

Obverse—دار الضرب قلع الور

No. 339. Copper. Weight, 140 grs. District, Jaunpúr, A.H. 940, 941.

Obverse—خطه جونپور

Reverse as usual.

BÁBAR'S INDIAN REVENUE.

One of the most interesting documents relating to the fiscal history of India has been discovered and preserved by Mr. Erskine in the unique detail given by Bábar himself of the revenues of his newly-acquired kingdom.[1]

Mr. Erskine felt some difficulty in satisfying himself as to what this nominal total of fifty-two *krors*, summarized by Bábar, might chance to represent in English money, and he was constrained to leave it an open question between no less than five several amounts, ranging from £1,300,000 to £52,000,000.[2] There can be little hesitation—now that we have discovered the true value of the Sikandari *tankah* and its direct association with the double *dáms* of Akbar—in adopting that standard and almost exclusively current piece as the real measure of value in this and in all similar instances, where the *tankah* is not qualified by some descriptive term. In the present table, the introduction of the specification of *silver tankahs* and *black tankahs,* in the Tírhút return, implies, *primâ facie,* that the general total was based upon some coin which would not directly come under either category; the Sikandari *tankah*, however designedly lowered in value, had an equal claim to the generic name with its predecessors of higher metallic mark. As has been already explained (pp. 336, 369, 384), these Sikandaris represented, irregularly perhaps in individual pieces, but satisfactorily in large amounts, a value of $\frac{1}{20}$ of the old *silver tankah*. Under this test, Bábar's given total corresponds to a sum of 2,60,00,000 *silver tankahs*, or £2,600,000.[1] Akbar's revenues are not quite so uncertain or indeterminate as Mr. Erskine was inclined to suppose. We have definitions of their amount from two different sources. Nizám-ud-dín Ahmad's return, which refers to A.H. 1002 (A.D. 1593), is quite explicit, and places them at 640,00,00,000, "six hundred and forty *krors*[2] of *tankah murádi*." Taking these as Sikandari *tankahs*, we obtain a sum of 32,00,00,000 (640,00,00,000÷20) *silver tankahs* (roughly modern *rupees*), or the equivalent of £32,000,000.

---

[1] This return was wanting in all the MSS. previously accessible.

[2] "The amount of this revenue of 52 *krors,* if considered as represented in single *dáms,* according to the mode of computation in Akbar's reign, would be £1,300,000; if in double *dáms,* according to the calculation of Ferishtah, £2,600,000; if we adopted the mode of reckoning suggested by the facts stated by Mirza Haidar, it would be £4,212,000; while, if we take the *tankah* at 7½*d.*, which is somewhat below the lowest rate it reached in the reign of Sultán Muhammad bin Tughlak [see correction, p. 229 *antè*], the amount would be £16,250,000; but if at its full and proper value of a *rupee*, £52,000,000. Everything considered, I should consider £4,212,000 as the amount of Bábar's nominal revenue; a very large sum when the working of the American mines had not yet produced its full effect. It is not easy to find any unobjectionable point of comparison The statements of Akbar's revenue given in the translation of the Áín-i Akbari have not been generalized, and are far from being always distinct."—Erskine, i. p. 542.

Abúl Fazl's revenue estimate for the fortieth year of the reign, or A.H. 1003 (A.D. 1594), is far more obscure. It is epitomized in the introduction to his twelve *Ṣúbahs*, or divisions of India, as 3,62,97,55,246 *dáms;*[3] but this aggregate does not correspond with the grand total to be obtained from the more comprehensive provincial tables in his own work, nor do those tables themselves always coincide with the preliminary summary prefixed to the returns of each fiscal division; indeed, there is internal evidence that the detailed statistics were corrected-up, independently, from later documents, when Akbar's dominions had extended their boundaries; but as regards the figures above quoted, there must clearly be an error either of calculation or of transcription: the given sum reckoned in single *dáms* gives the absurdly small amount of 9,07,43,881 rupees, or £9,074,388. Understood as double *dáms*, or Sikandaris of identical value, the total would still only reach 18,14,87,762 rupees, or £18,148,776, or little more than half the sum the more authoritative assertion of Nizám-ud-dín places it at. It is possible that a more close examination of the fiscal returns of Akbar's reign may throw light upon this unaccountable divergency; but for the present I am content to adhere implicitly to Nizám-ud-dín's figures, and to suspect that Abúl Fazl's sum indicated origi-

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[1] Bábar confesses that he added, at one time, 30 per cent. to the ordinary taxes to meet the enhanced expenditure upon his army of occupation. This does not appear to have been included in the above summary.—Bábar's Memoirs, p. 387; Erskine, i. p. 488.

[2] Whatever complications may exist about *dáms* in the Áín-i Akbari, the text of Nizám-ud-dín Ahmad (a paymaster), is clear and definite as to ششصد وچهل کرور تنکه مرادي "640 *kror*." See also Elliot's Index, p. 204.

[3] The printed Persian text, even with all the advantages of Dr. Blochmann's choice series of MSS., only confirms Gladwin's original rendering (ii. p. 1.) The passage runs—سه ارب و شصت و دو کرور و نود و هفت لک و پنجاه و پنج هزار و دویست و چهل و شش دام. There is a possibility that the سه =3

may be intended for سي = 30, a very frequent error (ordinarily guarded against by the insertion of the figure ٣ over the سه, thus ٣سه), which would produce at 40 *dáms* the large but not impossible sum of 76,57,43,881 rupees, or £76,574,388. But the rectification that most commends itself to me, as an occasional reconstructor of Persian texts, does even more violence to the extant version, inasmuch as I should go so far as to suggest a substitution of the more divergent word شش or *six*, for the opening *written* word, سه or *three*, which now appears in the MSS. and their printed reproductions. This would establish a very near approach to the result of Nizám-ud-dín Ahmad's return, and one fully within the range of identities and probabilities. Under this scheme, the long array of figures would present themselves as 6,62,97,55,246, which, divided by 20 (the ruling number in the parallel case), would produce a sum of 33,14,87,772 *silver tankahs*, or a very close approximation to the 32,00,00,000 obtained from our leading authority, Nizám-ud-dín, which is fixed at the latter amount, though specified in different terms, and ruled by an independent scheme of exchange.

nally a very moderate increment upon the ordinary revenue of the preceding year. Though, of course, if the leading total was altered under later authorities to meet the ever varying annual income, the irreconcilable figures themselves become comparatively unimportant.

Mr. Erskine quotes another very curious table of the revenues of India under Aurangzéb (A.H. 1068–1118; A.D. 1651–1707),[1] which produces a grand total of 38,71,94,000 rupees, or £38,719,400, at which period the provinces entered in Bábar's schedule had risen to an improved revenue return of 7,81,46,550 rupees, or £7,814,655.

The Revenues of Bábar's Indian Dominions.

		TANKAHS.
1.	The Sirkár west of the Satlege, Bhíra, Láhor, Siálkót, Daibálpúr, etc.	36,315,989
2.	Sírhind and its dependencies	12,931,985
3.	Hissár Fírúzah	13,075,104
4.	*Dár ul Mulk*, Dehli, in the Doáb	36,950,254
5.	Méwát (not included in Sikandar's Revenue roll)	16,981,000
6.	Bíána...	14,414,930
7.	Agrah	2,976,919
8.	Mián-i Viláat	29,119,000
9.	Gwálior	22,357,450
10.	Kálpi, etc....	42,855,950
11.	Kanauj	13,063,358
12.	Sambal	13,844,000
13.	Lakhnau, etc.	13,982,433

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[1] This is taken from Catron's Histoire de l'Empire Mogol, Paris, 4to., 1715, i. p. 264. The information is supposed to be derived from the papers of Manucci, the Venetian traveller. Catron adds to his other remarks, that "other taxes and duties equal or exceed the land revenue." Bernier also gives an imperfect return of the revenues of twenty divisions, in Aurangzéb's reign, amounting to 22,58,78,000 rupees (ii. p. 354.)

	Tankahs.	Silver Tankahs.
14. Khairábád...	1,265,000	
15. Oude and Bahráich	11,721,369	
16. Jaunpúr	40,088,333	
17. Karra and Mánikpúr	16,327.280	
18. Bihár...	40,560,000	
19. Sirwár	15,517,506½	
20. Sáran...	11,018,679	
21. Chumpáram	19,086,609	
22. Gondlah	4,330,300	
23. Tirhút. Tribute (Khidmatána) of the Tirhút Rája 250,000[1] Silver Tankahs, and 2,750,000[2] Black Tankahs...		
24. Rantambhór	2,000,009	
25. Nagór...	13,000,000	
26. Rája Bikramájít from Rantambhór		
27. Rája of Kálinjar		
28. Rája Birsing-deo		
29. Rája Bikram-deo		
30. Rája Bikram Chand...		
	443,783,457½	=2,21,89,172
Add Tirhút estimate, [250,000 Tankahs, and 2,750,000, at 10 per Tankah, or 275,000] ...	525,000	525,000
		2,27,14,172

[Or at $\frac{1}{20}$ of a Tankah, at the exchange of 2*s*. per Tankah, £2,271,417, exclusive of the tribute from the five Rájas, the totals of which are left blank.]

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[1] *Tankah-nukrah*, "silver Tankahs," or full money.

[2] *Tankah sídh*, "black Tankahs," at 2½*d*. See p. 230 *antè*.

THIRTY-SIXTH KING (A.H. 947–952; A.D. 1540–1545).

The history of Shír Sháh has yet to be written, and it is to be feared that those who undertake the task will find much difficulty, at this late period, in doing justice to his masterly administrative abilities, or in restoring to him that meed of honour for his systemization of the revenue and fiscal departments of Indian policy which Akbar's eulogists have appropriated to their own master.[1] His chequered career, his rise from a comparatively humble sphere, and his success so often due to his individual efforts, are soiled by the frequent association of the Afghán national vices of duplicity, treachery, and unscrupulous breaches of faith. The introductory annals of this reign embrace so many minor incidents, that, following earlier precedents, I have reduced the details into the more compact form of a tabular outline, instead of attempting to generalize the narrative of the consecutive events.

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[1] "It is impossible to conclude the history of such a prince without regretting that so few materials remain for affording a view of the internal administration of his dominions. Many of his revenue regulations were retained or renewed by Akbar, and seem to have made a part of Todar-Mal's improved system of finance. But Shír Sháh was soon succeeded on the throne by a hostile family, whose partizans were not disposed to see any merit in the virtues of an enemy."—Erskine's Bábar, ii. 446. See also Elphinstone, pp. 457, 541.

Sir Henry Elliot was likewise strongly impressed with the value of Shír Sháh's reforms, regarding which we were quite in accord; and I have reason to believe he will be found to have collected much information on the subject during his patient investigations into this interesting portion of the history of India. These details will probably appear in the fourth volume of the Historians of India, now in course of publication under Professor Dowson's editorship.

OUTLINE OF SHÍR SHÁH'S CAREER.

A.H.	A.D.	
934	1528	Shír Khán *Jágirdár* of Sahsarám (in Sháhábád) is presented to Bábar, and accompanies him in the expedition against Chandéri. Becomes prime minister to Jalál-ud-dín *Loháni*, king of Bihár, who eventually, in fear of his own *vazír*, takes refuge with Nusrat Sháh of Bengal. Shír Khán defeats Ibráhím Khán, the general of Nusrat Sháh. Jalál-ud-dín escapes from the field.
935	1529	Shír Khán submits to Sultán Mahmúd *Lódi*, who is proclaimed king of Bihár; but who, shortly afterwards, has to retire before the army of Bábar, into Bengal. Shír Khán is meanwhile left in possession of his own *Jágírs*.
937		Shír Khán obtains possession of the Fort of Chunár.
938		Humáyún makes terms with Shír Khán.
942		Shír Khán defeats Ulugh Mírzá, plunders Benares, reduces Patna, and in 943 pushes his forces into Bengal and besieges Gour. Chunár surrenders to Humáyún; Gour capitulates to Shír Khán; Syud Mahmúd Sháh seeks refuge with Humáyún.
945		Temporary check to Humáyún's advance at Teriagarhi. Shír Khán acquires the Fort of Rhotas (lat. 24° 38′, long. 82° 25′) by treachery. Gour occupied by Humáyún. Shír Khán, already in possession of the passes, takes Benares, proceeds against Jaunpúr, and thus isolates Humáyún in Bengal. Hindal Mírza revolts and proclaims himself *Sultán* at Agrah. Shír Khán assumes the title of *Sháh*, or king of Bihár.
946	1539	Shír Sháh circumvents Humáyún at Chonsa (Chúpar Ghát) on the Ganges; and after terms of peace had been settled, with true Afghán perfidy, he arranges a night attack upon Humáyún's camp, and totally destroys his army, the Sultán himself escaping with the greatest difficulty. Shír Sháh improves his advantage, renews the siege of Jaunpúr, and occupies Kanauj.

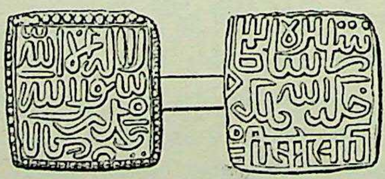
A.H.	A.D.	
947	1540	Total defeat of Humáyún at Kanauj. Shír Sháh occupies Agrah and Dehli, and subsequently the Panjáb. Humáyún retreats to Bhakkar. Shír Sháh's expedition against the Ghakars in the Panjáb: he erects the *new* Fort of Rhotas (lat. 33°, long. 73° 20′).
949	1542	Reduces Málwah; Rantambhór surrenders; Multán annexed.
950	1543	Occupation of Ráisen, and treacherous destruction of the garrison after surrender.
951	1544	Invasion of Márwár; engagement with Maldeo; submission of Chítor.
952	1545	Siege of Kálinjar, and death of Shír Sháh in the trenches (12th Rabí'ul awwal).[1]

No. 340. Gold. Weight, 167 grs. Unique.

Obverse—السلطان العادل لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله

Reverse—सा सर सही ٩٤٧ شیر شاه السلطان خلد الله ملکه

No. 341. Gold. Square piece. Weight, 168·5 grs. Kálpi. Square areas, with dotted margins. Two specimens. Col. Guthrie.



لا الــه الا الــلــه
محمد رسول الله
ضــرب كالــپــي

شيــر شــــاه
ســلـــطــــان
خلد الله ملكه
श्री सेर सहि

---

[1] Shír Sháh's Mausoleum at Sahsaram, an edifice of note, is described as being

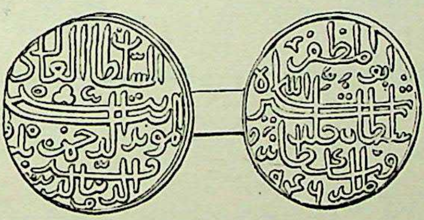
The reading of the place of mintage is uncertain, the letters كالا alone being fairly legible; so that the city the die was designed to indicate may possibly have been *Kálánúr*.

No. 342. Gold. Weight, 166·4 grs. Round coin.

Square area.	Square area.
	شير شاه
لا اله الا الله	سلطان
محمد رسول الله	خلد الله ملكه

Margins illegible.

No. 343. Silver. Weight, 163 grs. Unique.[1] Col. Guthrie.



السلطان العادل المويد بتائيد الرحمن فريد الدنيا و الدين

ابو المظفر شيرشاه سلطان خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه ٩٤٦

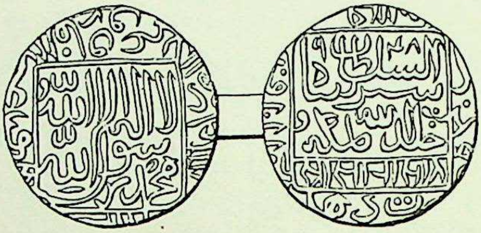
Shír Sháh's defeat of Humáyún, at Chonsa, dates 9th Safar, 946 A.H. (June, 1539 A.D.).[2]

"built in the middle of a great reservoir of water. The monument rises from the centre of the tank, which is about a mile in circumference, and bounded on each side by masonry; the descent to the water being by a flight of steps, now in ruins. The dome and the rest of the building is of a fine grey stone."—Hamilton's Hindústán, i. p. 281.

[1] See J.R.A.S., N.S., vol. ii. p. 222.

[2] Erskine, ii. p. 173; Stewart's Bengal, p. 142.

No. 344. Silver. Weight, 171 grs. Unique. Struck at the capital, Dehli, A.H. 948.



لا الـــه الا الــلــه

محمد رسول الله

Margin—ابابكر الـصديـق

عمر الفاروق عثمان العفان

على المرتضي

٩۴٨

الســلــطان

شيـر شـــاه

خلد الله ملكه

स्री सीरी साह

Margin—ابو المظفر فريد الدنيا

و الدين ضرب بحضرت دهلي

No. 345. Silver. Weight, 168·5 grs. (oxydized). Agrah, A.H. 948.

Square areas.

لا الــه الا الــلــه

محمد رسول الله

Margin—The usual legend, comprising the names of the four associates, with their honorific titles.

شيـر شـاه سلطان

خلد الله ملـكـه

Margin—فريد الدنيا و الدين

ابو المظفر ضرب اكره ٩۴٨

श्री सेर साही

No. 346. Silver. Weight, 176 grs. Shírgarh, (9)49 A.H.[1]
(Prinsep collection.[2])

Obverse—Square area, لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله

Margin—[3] ابابكر الصديق عمر الفاروق عثمان ذي النورين
على المرتضى

Reverse—Square area, شيرشاه سلطان خلد الله ملكه

Margin—श्री सेर साहो *Ṣrí Ser Sáhí.*

فريد الدنيا و الدين ابو المظفر ضرب شيركده ٩٤٩

No. 347. Silver. Weight, 176 grs. Coins similar in legends to No. 346. Struck at Gwálior, A.H. 951, 952.

The Hindí legend varies slightly in the orthography, and usually runs श्री सर साह.

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[1] Shírgarh, *i.e. Rhotas*, the fortress situated on the table land, five miles by four, on the left of the Són (lat. 24° 38′, long. 84°), taken by stratagem from the Hindú Rája by Shír Sháh (p. 393 *antè*), and converted into a refuge and place of safety for his family and treasures during his wars with Humáyún.—Aín-i Akbari, ii. 32. See also Briggs's Ferishtah, ii. 114; Tieffenthaler, i. 309; Buchanan, i. 434; Hamilton's Hindústán, i. 281; Erskine's Bábar and Humáyún, ii. 147; Thornton's Gazetteer, *sub voce*.

[2] The silver coin of a similar type to the above, described by Marsden under No. DCCXXIX, as dated 945, is not so defined in the only specimen of the kind in *his* cabinet in the British Museum. Marsden was unable to detect the Hindí inscription on the margin of the reverse of this medal, which, with the aid of a better specimen, such as the specimen now described, is clearly recognizable.

Marsden's No. DCCXXXVII is seen from *the* original coin to have been struck at گوالير *Gwálior*, and not at "Korah."

[3] ذي النورين "Possessor of two lights," in reference to his marriage with two daughters of the Prophet.

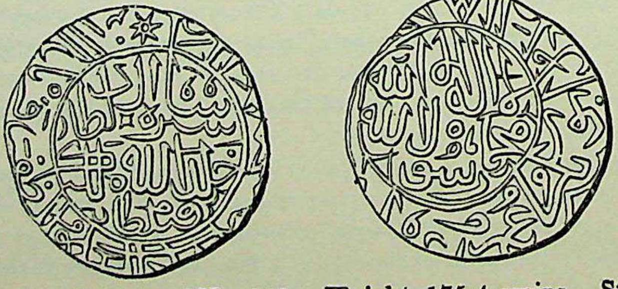
No. 348 (pl. v. fig. 179). Silver. Weight, 176 grs. (Also Marsden, DCCXXXIII.) No mint specified. A.H. 948, 949, *950*.

Circular areas.

لا الـه الا الـلـه	شير شـاه سلطان
	خلد الله ملكه
محمد رسول الـلـه	و سـلـطـانـه
Margin—السلطان العادل	Margin—فريد الدنيا و الدين
ابابكر عمر عثمان علي	ابو المظفر श्री सेर साही ٩٥٠

Some of these coins, in addition to the exclusively Muslim devices, such as the Seal of Solomon, etc., have clearly defined outlines of Hindú *Swastikas* at the divisional gaps of the marginal legends, which may possibly connect them with the Málwah expedition of Shír Sháh.

No. 348*a*. The curious coin here engraved is inserted less on account of its historic importance than for the exemplification of the artistic model upon which some of the best specimens of the flowing style of Akbar's early mintages were based.



No. 349. Variety of No. 348. Weight, 175·4 grains. Struck at Sharífábád, A.H. 949.

The name of شريفاباد takes the place of the ordinary سلطانه on the obverse area. A second coin from the same mint, in the British Museum, is dated in 951 A.H.

The Áín-i Akbari notices Sharífábád as a Sirkár of Bengal, containing 26 Mahals, with an assessment of 2,24,88,750 *dáms*= 5,62,213 rupees. The leading township in the list of Mahals is Burdwán (lat. 23° 12′, long. 87° 56′; 75 miles N.W. of Calcutta). —Gladwin, ii. p. 13, and iii. p. 14.

No. 349*a*. The greater number of this class of coins are absolutely deficient in any record of the place of mintage. This may be due to a variety of causes—simple want of space in the general die arrangement of the legends, advised omissions of the names of localities of the case of money struck in movable camps, or the supposition of a more subtile motive, attributable to an intentional contrast between the *quasi*-home of Shír Khán at Sharífábád and his triumphant occupancy of جهانپناه *Jáhanpanáh*, "the asylum of the world," or Dehli in its full significance,[1] on the immediate expulsion of his Mughal adversaries.

No. 350. Silver. Weight, 169 grs. Unique. (My cabinet.)
Chunár, A.H. 949.

Circular areas.

لا اله الا الله	شير شاه السلطان
محمد رسول الله	خلد الله ملكه
	و سلطانه
Margin—ابوبكر الصديق	Margin—فريد الدنيا و الدين
عمرالخطاب عثمان الفاروق	ابو المظفرضرب جنار ۹۴۹
علي المرتضى السلطان العادل	स्री सर साही

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[1] There need be no reserve in admitting that the جهانپناه which occurs at the conclusion of the Sultán's titles (after the ابو المظفر) in exceptional cases, has hitherto been read as part and parcel of the honorific designations of the monarch himself, instead of, what parallel examples now sufficiently prove it to be, the abrupt and irregular insertion of the name of the mint.

Shír Khán seems to have acquired the important Fort of Chunár as early as 937 A.H. It originally passed into his hands on his marriage with Lád Malek, the widow of Táj Khán Sárangkháni, who held the stronghold for Sultán Ibráhím Lódi, and subsequently for the Emperor Bábar.[1] On Sultán Mahmúd *Lódi's* defeat by Humáyún, in 937 A.H., Shír Khán, after basely deserting the former, temporized with the latter, and succeeded in retaining possession until 938 A.H., when Humáyún conceded to him the title to Chunár and his other fiefs.

No. 351. Silver. Weight, 175·2 grs. (Marsden, DCCXXX.)

Mints generally unrecorded; but two specimens in the British Museum have the name of Sharífábád inserted in the field after ملكه[2] (946, 947). A.H. 946, 947, 948 (four specimens), 951, and 952.

Square areas.

لا اله الا الله	شير شاه السلطان
محمد رسول الله	خلد الله ملكه ۹۴۶
السلطان العادل	श्री सेर साही
Margin—ابوبكر عمر عثمان علي	Margin— فريد الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر NB. In some cases where space admits و سلطنه is added after ملكه.

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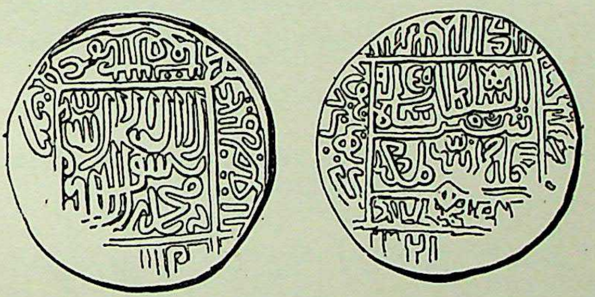
[1] History of India, Bábar and Humáyún, Erskine, ii. pp. 131, 134; Stewart's Bengal, p. 120; Bábar's Memoirs, by Leyden and W. Erskine (London, 1826), pp. 405, 407, 408.

[2] Marsden's own published coin, No. DCCXXX, has the name of the mint fully and freely legible on its surface, though he himself did not detect it.

No. 352. Silver. Weight, 170 grs. Rantambhor.[1] A.H. 949.
Square areas.

	۹۴۹
The *Kalimah.*	شیر شاه السلطان خلد الله ملکه
	श्री सर साह
Margin—The names and titles of the four companions.	Margin—السلطان العادل ابوالمظفر فرید الدنیا و الدین * * رنتهنبهور

No. 353. Silver. Weight, 173 grs. A broad thin piece. A.H. 750.
Bhánpúra (lat. 24° 30′, long. 75° 45′.)



Legends generally as in No. 352, but the Persian letters are very crudely though clearly formed, and the Hindí name is even less definitely expressed. The conclusion of the obverse marginal record seems to run ضرب بهانپور سنه "Struck at Bhánpúr, San. 950," the *figures* following-on at the top of the square area. The doubtful sentence might possibly be read as ضرب شاه جهانپور, but *Bhánpúr* seems to be the preferable rendering.

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[1] The strong fortress of Rantambhor, in the province of Ajmír (lat. 76° 23′, long. 26° 1′), 75 miles S.E. of Jaipúr, surrendered to Shír Sháh in A.H. 949 = A.D. 1542 (Erskine, ii. 432), and, with its dependencies, was assigned as a Jágír to 'Ádil Khán, the eldest son of the Sultán (ii. 439). Sirkár "Rhintenpoor" is stated, in the Áín-i Akbari, to have contained 83 *mahdls*, measuring in all 60,24,196 *bigahs*, with a revenue of 8,98,64,576 *ddms* (or 22,91,614 rupees).—

No. 354. Silver. Weight, 170 grs. Kálpí, A.H. 949.

Square areas.

شير شاه سلطان	لا الـه الا الـلـه
خلد الـلـه ملكه	محمد رسول الله
سـنـه ٩٤٩	ضرب كـالـپـي
Margin—श्री सर सा	Margin—Names and honorific titles of the four companions.
فريد الدنيا etc.	

No. 354*a*. Silver. *Half Rupee*. Weight, 88 grs. A.H. 948.

This half piece, with its *demi*-proportion, brings the normal and official weight of the full rupee up to 176, out of the *theoretical* 178 grains.

No. 355. Copper. Weight, 310 grs. A.H. 948, 949, 950, *951*.

Obverse—في عهد الامير الحامي الدين الدنيان ٩٥١

Reverse—ابو المظفر شير شاه سلطان خلد الله ملكه

No. 356 (pl. v. fig. 185). Copper. Weight, 315 grs.

Agrah, A.H. 950 (or 951 ?,

Obverse—Area, ٩٥٠ في عهد الامير الحامي

Margin, السلطان العادل فريد الدين و الدنيا

Reverse—Area, شير شاه سلطان ضرب اگره

Margin, ابو المظفر خلد الله

Gladwin's Aín-i Akbari, iii. 78. See also Rennell, p. 232; Tr. R.A.S. i. p. 143; Jour. As. Soc. Bengal, 1837, p. 937; Ferishtah, i. p. 301, etc.; Tod's Rájastnan, ii. p. 147.

No. 357. Copper. Highest (exceptional) weight, 329 grs.[1]
Hissár, A.H. 950.

Obverse—Square area, شير شاه سلطان ضرب حصار
Margin, خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه

Reverse—Square area, فيعهد الامير الحالمي
Margin, **۲ الله * *

No. 358. Similar coins, varying in the minor details of the legends.
Gwálior, A.H. 950, 951, 952. (Highest weight, 312·5 grs.)
Narnól,[2] A.H. 948, 950, 951. (Highest weight, 322 grs.)
Shírgarh, A.H. 950, 951. (Highest weight, 314 grs.)
Biána, A.H. 951. (Highest weight, 315 grs.)
Kálpí, A.H. 949. (Highest weight, 311 grs.)

NOTE ON SHÍR SHÁH'S COINS.

Shír Sháh's reign constitutes an important test-point in the annals of Indian coinages, not only in its specific mint reforms but as correcting the progressive deteriorations of previous kings, and as introducing many of those improvements which the succeeding Mughals claimed as their own. Though it is to be conceded that their occupation of Hindústán was followed by marked elaboration in the artistic developments of the local mints—due either to the more cultivated taste of the northern sovereigns, or to the superior excellence of their foreign workmen; still, associated with these mechanical ameliorations, no effort seems to have been made by these Chaghatái kings to assimilate their system of coinage to the wants of their new subjects. The intention, in this regard, appears rather to have been to force upon the conquered country the style of coin and scheme of exchange in use in the distant kingdoms whence the invaders came. This exotic system, owing, however, to causes other than any default of its own, was doomed to be but short-lived, inasmuch as Shír Sháh soon sat in the place of Humáyún; and, with the advantages of his individual local experience and clear administrative capacity, quickly reconstructed the currency upon the most comprehensive basis; and when this operation is followed out into its nicer shades, we are satisfied that as the abundance of his coins now extant attests the magnitude and settled nature of his power, so do the numerous geographical records they display assure us of the unusual completeness of his subjects' recognition of his sway.

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[1] Average weight of four specimens, 316 grains.

[2] Narnól was celebrated for its copper mines and mints. See *infra*, p. 416.

Foremost among Shír Sháh's monetary improvements stands the supercession of the use of the time-honoured, though most indeterminate, admixture of silver and copper, and the employment in lieu thereof of avowedly simple metals —a cursory glance at any cabinet of the coins of the later Pathán monarchs will satisfy the inquirer of the interminable abuses a coinage composed of mixed metals of unequal value was subject to under the administration of careless workmen, unscrupulous rulers, and seldom severely honest mint officials; were there no other object in view, this motive alone would suffice to prove the policy of the changes introduced.

The authoritative remodelling of the coinage effected at this period appears from internal evidence to have been accompanied by a revision and readjustment of the relative values of the lower metals of silver and copper.

There are no data to show at what exact rate silver exchanged against gold in the time of Shír Sháh; but we have been able approximately to determine the ratio in 725 A.H. as 7 or 8 to 1 (p. 235 *antè*); and Akbar's official enumeration of the weights and relative values of his gold and silver coins demonstrates, beyond a doubt, that silver in his day stood to gold as 9·4 to 1.

Abúl Fazl's casual allusion to certain additional details of Shír Sháh's coin system, in illustration of that adopted by his own master, throws much light on our present inquiry, and with the aid of the test the coins themselves supply, permits of our forming a fairly approximate idea of the ruling scale of the more common monetary exchanges.

I have previously assumed, from existing specimens of the silver money of Shír Sháh, that the original mint standard of these pieces was calculated at an average weight of 178 grains, if not more. Abúl Fazl's statement on the point, scrutinized more critically than heretofore, affords a singularly close confirmation of this inference. I find it recorded in no less than four excellent copies of the original Persian Áín-i Akbari, that the rupee of Akbar, which was avowedly based upon that of Shír Sháh, weighed 11½ *máshas;* the same weight (expressed in distinct words) is assigned in these MSS. to Akbar's Jaláli, which is confessedly identical in value with the former. I mention this prominently, as Gladwin in his translation (i. pp. 34, 37, etc.) has given 11¼ *máshas* as the weight of these two coins; and Prinsep (Useful Tables, p. 19), in accepting Gladwin's figures, was led to place the weight of the old rupee at nearly four grains below its true standard.[1]

[1] Áín-i Akbari, Calcutta edition, 4to., 1783. I take this opportunity of noticing some further errors of Gladwin's original MSS. in connexion with this

There is some doubt as to the precise weight we have to allow to the *másha*, which varied considerably in different parts of India. Prinsep has determined the Dehli *másha* to be 15·5 grains (Useful Tables, pp. 19, 20); and admitting this estimate, the result shows that Shír Sháh's rupee ought to have weighed 178·25 grains of what was esteemed pure silver.

The assignment of 15·5 grains to the Shír Sháhi *másha* is equally well borne out in the test afforded by Akbar's own coins. In order to avoid the very probable error of mistaking the identical class, among three but little varying denominations of the gold coinage, to which any given specimen within our reach should belong, I confine my reference to the silver money of Akbar, which, though differing in its various mintages, in types and legends, was preserved intact, uniform in weight and value. Marsden has contributed an example (No. DCCCXXIV.) of a square Jaláli of this Pádsháh weighing 176·5 grains. Had the official *tolah* at this time been fixed at 180 grains, this coin would virtually contain four grains more than the law required; as it is, even allowing for wear, it shows a return of 15·3 grains to each of the 11½ *máshas* of 15·5 grains, which should, under the higher scale of weights, originally have constituted its specific total on issue from the mint.

The adoption of this 15·5 grain *másha*, as a standard, necessitates a concurrent recognition of a proportionately increased weight in the *tolah* as then in use; we can scarcely suppose the twelve *máshas* composing the *tolah* to have aggregated 186 grains, while the *tolah* itself remained at the 180 grains modern usage has assigned to it. We have fortunately at

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subject—i. p. 31, under Ilâhi, "for 12 *máshas* 13¼ *ruttees*," read "12 *máshas* 1¾ *ruttees*," and for "is in value 12 *rupees*," read "10 rupees." At p. 37, line 10, for "12½ *máshas*," read "11½ *máshas*."

hand a second means of proving the question in the ultimate determination of the intrinsic contents of the pieces constituting the lower currency of the period, and the result will be found to show sufficient confirmation of the theory which has already placed the *másha* of Shír Sháh at 15·5 and the *tolah* at 186 grains troy. Forty *dáms* of copper, we are told, were in Akbar's time equivalent in account, and ordinarily in actual exchange,[1] to one rupee; and the *dám* of copper is itself defined at five *tanks*, or one *tolah* eight *máshas* and seven *ratís* in weight. The measure of *value* thus specified is likewise distinctly stated to have been a continuation of a previously existing species of money, which, at the moment when Abúl Fazl wrote, went by the name of *dám*. There can be but little hesitation in admitting, almost *primâ facie* on the evidence available, that the copper pieces classed under Nos. 355, 358, were the identical coins of Shír Sháh, to which the succeeding *dáms* of Akbar were assimilated; or, in other words, that they were in weight and value (whatever their name) the *dáms* of the Afghán Sultán. It is a nicer point to determine the precise contents in grains attending the professed mint issue of these coins; but first taking the figures now proposed for *máshas* and *tolahs*, we obtain from one *tolah* eight *máshas* and seven *ratís*, at 186 grains per *tolah*, a sum of 323·5625 grains; and then testing this return of the actual present weight of extant coins, we obtain a very reasonably close approximation to our figured result. It is true that the general average of the various existing provincial coins of this class, minted during the reigns of Shír Sháh and his Afghán successors, would necessarily run somewhat below the rate of 323·5 grains; but we have to allow a considerable per-centage for loss by wear in such heavy coins, composed, as they were, of copper, which metal would always continue more freely current, and consequently suffer far more from the abrasion incident to frequent transfers, than the more carefully guarded and less readily exchanged silver or gold. However we may, without claiming too much margin on these grounds, fairly consider ourselves within the mark in identifying the general series of coins under review as having originally an intentional standard of 323·5 grains, inasmuch as we can at this time produce several specimens of the coinage weighing 322 grains, and in one instance, of a Hissár coin, we can reckon no less than the large overplus of 329 grains. Added to this, we have the indirect evidence of Ferishtah that in his day there was a *paisa!* (or fixed weight? پول) which was rated at 1¾ *tolahs*, which, at 186 grains the *tolah*, gives the close though higher return of 324·5 grains.

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[1] See above, p. 360.

At the same time, it would be impossible to reduce *per contra* the coins which furnish our means of trial to anything like so low a general average as would admit of 314 grains (or the produce of the simple 180 grains *tolah*) being accepted as the normal issue weight.

The later and more ample investigations which have suggested themselves during the progress of this enlarged work on "The Chronicles of the Pathán Kings of Dehli," bear out, in a remarkable manner, the accuracy of the results previously obtained from Shír Sháh's extant coins. Now that we have ascertained the precise application of the term *tánk*, as distinguished from *tankah* or any other misleading association, we are able to check the return obtained from the definition of the weight of the *dám* as one *tolah* eight *máshas* and seven *ratis* (which produces a total of 323·5625 grains); by the second estimate of five *tanks*, a weight which Bábar himself defines as 32 *ratis*[1] [or 56 grains], and which crops up under the palpable and tangible form of the mediæval representatives of the old *puráṇa* in the present series (Nos. 102, 108, 118, *et seq.*). This latter calculation produced a return of 280 grains (56 × 5), which proved to be the exact amount required to constitute the old *paisa*, forty of which went to the 175 grain *silver tankah*, giving a grand total of 11,200 grains of copper to 175 of silver, or at the exchange rate of the two metals of 64 to 1.

We need not subject the old copper *tank* to any tests or trials by the new copper standard, as the value of that metal in reference to silver was avowedly altered from the rate obtaining when the coined *tank* or *puráṇa* first constituted the secondary authoritative and corrective measure. And here we are forced to encounter another supposed difficulty: we have seen that allowance had to be made for the increased weight of the *másha* consequent upon the advance on the rate of the *tolah* and rupee; but the question of the *rati* did not form part of the then leading argument, but by parity of reasoning, this weight must equally have felt the change, and hence we find that as the old *rati* of the early Patháns stood at 1·75 grains, so the revised *rati* under Shír Sháh and Akbar rose to 1·9375 grains (186÷96); or by the *dám* test, 323·5625÷167 [the number of *ratis* in a *dám*] to 1·9375,—a solution which will reconcile the difficulty heretofore experienced in the admission of the correctness of my independently devised estimate of the weight of the ancient *rati*.[2]

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[1] Page 222 *antè*.

[2] Gen. Cunningham (Jour. As. Soc. Bengal, 1865, p. 46), proposed to correct my estimate of 1·75 into 1·8229, making the eighty *ratis*, which is rather a

The exchange rate of copper and silver in Shír Sháh's time would appear from these returns to have ranged at something over 72·6 to 1 (178·25 ÷ 1294·25 [*i.e.* 323·5625 × 40] = 72·60).[1]

THIRTY-SEVENTH KING (A.H. 952–960; A.D. 1545–1552).

'Adil Khán, the eldest son, had been nominated as the successor to the throne of Shír Sháh. Jalál Khán, the younger brother, however, taking advantage of his absence from the capital at the time of the death of their father, assumed the imperial dignity under the title of Islam Sháh; and not long afterwards, 'Adil Khán made a formal resignation of his birthright, and saluted Islam Sháh as *Sultán*, simultaneously accepting, for his own portion, the *Jágír* of Biána. Eventually, seeing cause to distrust the good faith of his brother, 'Adil fled to Mewat, and went into open revolt. This futile effort was quickly crushed by the Sultán, and 'Adil took

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standard weight, equal to 145·832 grains. This calculation is reproduced, and the inference reiterated by the General in his article, "On the Indian Prince Sophytes," in the Numismatic Chronicle (October, 1866, p. 230); and he further extends his comparisons to the ancient *punch-marked* thirty-two rati *purânas*, two [exceptional] specimens of which he has found to weigh as much as 56·5 grains each, marking an excess of *half* a grain upon my extreme limit. I should not be disposed to allow this fact to disturb my previous determination of the standard of 56 grains, as the accrement of the half grain in such rare instances might be due to many extraneous causes; indeed, I should rather argue from the General's own data, the result of which he specifies as "out of 186 specimens, ten only weighed "above 55 grains," that my maximum of 56 was preferable to his of 58. Mr. N. S. Maskelyne estimated the *rati* of Bábar's time at 1·862–1·80, the basis of his calculations being Humáyún's diamond.—J.R.A.S. 1866, p. 152.

[1] Col. W. Anderson made his return 70 : 1.—Prinsep, Useful Tables, p. 22. He seems, however, to have worked out his totals from the mere text of the Áín-i Akbari, without the all-important check of coin weights.

refuge in Bihár, where all traces of his eventual fate are lost. This outbreak was followed by a rebellion in the Punjáb, under 'Ázim Humáyún, which was for the time subdued by the defeat of the insurgents. The rest of the reign of Islám was disturbed by repeated insurrections, and during this period he had to reckon no less than three remarkable escapes from assassination. He died in 960 A.H.

No. 359 (pl. v. fig. 190). Silver. Weight, 168 grs. Common.

A.H. 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960.

Obverse—Square area, لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله

Margin, ابابكر الصديق عمر الفاروق عثمان العون[1] علي المرتضي

Ababakr the true, 'Umar the discerning, 'Usmán the defender, 'Alí the chosen.

Reverse—Area, اسلام شاه ابن شير شاه سلطان خلد الله ملكه ٩٥٤

श्री ईसलाम साहि

Margin, ۴۷۷* جلال الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر السلطان العادل

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[1] The العون "The defender," "patron," also "servant," is a somewhat doubtful reading, as on many coins there seems to be a dot over the third letter, making it الغون. Marsden has given this word as الفون, but the best cut specimens of Islám's mintage display the medial ع or غ in its perfect shape. The proper word is العفان. Islám's coins are very dubious in their orthography in other respects, the ابن being frequently written بن, and the साही Sháhí being used indiscriminately with साहि Sháhi.

The same uncertain method of expressing the Devanágarí equivalent of the Persian name of شير شاه *Shír Sháh* is also to be seen in its full defects on the coins of that prince.

No. 360. Marsden, DCCXLIV.

Varieties—Agrah, 952.
,, Gwálior, 952, (953), 957.
,, Satgáón, 951, 952, 953.
,, Shaḳḳ-i Bakar, 953, 959.
,, Other dates, 956, 958, 960.

Square areas.

لا اله الا الله	اسلام شاه ابن
محمد رسول الله	شير شاه سلطان
٩٥٢	خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه
Seal of Solomon.	सी इसलाम साह
Margin—The names and titles	Margin—جلال الدين و الدنيا
of the four companions.	أبو المظفر ضرب ستكانو

Some examples vary the Hindí orthography of the name of Islám to **इसेलेम इसेलाम सह**, etc.

No. 360*a*. A half piece of this type. Weight, 84·5 grs.

No. 361. Silver. Weight, 171 grs. New variety. (My cabinet.)

Sharífábád, A.H. 953.

Circular areas.

	اسلام شاه سلطان
	ابن شير شاه
The *Kalimah*.	سلطان خلد
	الله ملكه
Margin—ابوبكر عمر عثمان	Margin—جلال الدنيا والدين ابو
علي السلطان العادل	المظفر (ضرب) شريفاباد ٩٥٣
	श्री इसलाम साही

No. 361*a*. Similar coin, without any mint record. Dated 952 A.H.

No. 362. Silver. Square coin. Weight, 172 and 178 grs.
A.H. 954, 956. Col. Stacy.

Obverse—The *Kalimah*.

Reverse—اسلام شاه ابن شير شاه سلطان خلد الله ملكه ٩٥٤

[श्री] इसलाम

No. 363. Copper. Weight, 315 grs. A.H. 952, 953, 954, 955,
956, 957, 958, 959.

Obverse—في عهد الامير الحامي الدين الدنان ٩٥٤

Reverse—ابو المظفر اسلام شاه ابن شير شاه سلطان خلد الله ملكه

No. 364. Copper. Weight, 38 grs.

Obverse—اسلام شاه شير شاه سلطان

Reverse—خليفه الزمان العادل

No. 364*a*. Small coin. Shírgarh. A.H. 953.

U. Inscription of the time of Islám Sháh, A.H. 952, on 'Imád ul Malik's Well at Dehli.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم در عهد و زمان سلطان السلاطين ابو المظفر
اسلام شاه بن شير شاه سلطان خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه بنا كرد اين
چاه بتوفيق اله بروح رسول الله ملك عماد الملك عرف خواجه
عبدالله لادر قريشي بدارالملك حضرت دهلي في سنه اثني ,
خمسين و تسعماية **Nos. 35 and 61, Syud Ahmad's Asár-us-Sunnadeed.**

V. Second Inscription of the time of Islám Sháh, A.H. 958, on 'Imád ul Malik's *Báoli* at Dehli.

* * تمام شد اين باوري و چاه درماه رمضان در سنه نهصد پنجاه و
هشت هجري بروح محمد مصطفي رسول دركاه حضرت الله در زمان
عادل اسلام شاه بن شير شاه بناكرده كاركن دين از جمله بيشي
خواجه عماد الملك عرف عبدالله لادر قريشي بنده كاركن باوري
اميدوار عنايت * *

Nos. 34 and 60, Syud Ahmad's Asár-us-Sunnadeed.

There is also a short inscription, dated, in Persian, A.H. 954, on 'Isa Khán's Makbarah.—Syud Ahmad's Asár-us-Sunnadeed.

The public buildings, for which Islám Sháh's reign is remarkable, are the Fort of Selim Gurh, marked B on the accompanying plan of Dehli, and the extensive fortress of Mankót or Mánghar (32° 37′ N. 74° 55′ E.), 76 miles N. of Amritsir.

THIRTY-EIGHTH, THIRTY-NINTH, AND FORTIETH KINGS.

The historical events of the reigns of the three kings, who represent the obscuration of the Pathán dynasty of Dehli, are so interwoven with one another that it may be convenient to notice them in concert. On Islám Sháh's death, his son, Fírúz Khán, a boy of twelve years of age, was for the moment elevated to the throne of his father, only to be quickly disposed of by Mubáriz Khán, a nephew of Shír Sháh, who thereupon usurped the sovereignty under the title of Muhammad 'Ádil Sháh. Equally infamous and ignorant, the self-elected Sultán entrusted the direction of his kingdom to one Hímú (a Hindu, accused by his enemies of having once been a shopkeeper); fortunately, the individual thus selected was as capable, as he subsequently proved himself true, and for the time he loyally upheld the fortunes of the monarch he served. The Sultán's singular tendency to resume *Jágírs* and other governmental estates from the parties in possession, and to transfer them to new nominees, apparently without any further object than to show his power so to do, led to an attack upon his person in open Darbár, from which a hasty and undignified flight but narrowly saved him. In 961 A.H., so serious a rebellion was organized that the monarch was obliged to march against the insurgents in person, when he attacked and routed them near Chunár. Shortly after this, Ibráhím Súr, 'Ádil's cousin and brother-in-law, revolted, and obtained possession of Dehli and Agrah, obliging 'Ádil Sháh to confine himself to the eastern portions of his dominions. No sooner, however, had Ibráhím seated himself on his newly-erected throne, than another competitor started up in the person of Ahmad, a nephew of Shír Sháh, who, under the designation of Sikandar Sháh, assumed royal honours, and defeating Ibráhím, succeeded to the rulership of his lately-acquired territories. In the mean time, Muhammad Khán Gúria, governor of Bengal, disavowed allegiance to Muhammad 'Ádil, but was eventually vanquished and slain by Hímú. Prior to this last action, Humáyún, operating in another direction, had repossessed himself of Agrah and Dehli, and thus, in acquiring Sikandar's provinces, found himself in direct antagonism with Muhammad 'Ádil. Hímú, hearing of the death of Humáyún, which occurred about this time, and leaving his master in safety at Chunár, advanced upon Agrah, which he entered unopposed, and thence proceeded to Dehli, where he overcame Tirdi Beg, the Mughal governor. He next prepared for a march on Láhor, but was met on the plain of Paniput by Bahrám, the guardian of the young prince Akbar, and defeated and slain, after a display of considerable valour. 'Ádil Sháh continued to reign in his eastern dominions till he was killed, in 964 A.H., in an encounter with Bahádur Sháh, a pretender to the throne of Bengal.

MUHAMMAD 'ÁDIL.

No. 365 (pl. v. fig. 194). Silver. Weight, 174 grs. Rare.
A.H. 961, 963. One specimen struck at Narnól.[1]

Obverse—Square area, لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله

Reverse—Square area, محمد عادل شاه سلطان خلد الله ملكه ٩٦١

श्री महमद सह *Srí Mahamad Sah.*

Margins illegible.

No. 366. Copper. Weight, 322 grs. Rare.
A.H. 961, 962, 963, 964.

Obverse—ابو المظفر محمد شاه سلطان خلد الله ملكه

Reverse—في عهد الامير الحامي الدين الدنان ٩٦١

No. 367. Copper. Similar coins struck at Gwálior.
A.H. 961, 962, 963, 964.

IBRÁHÍM SUR.

No. 368. Copper. Damaged coin. Mr. Freeling's cabinet.

Obverse— ابو المظفر ابرهيم سـ * * *

Reverse— ضرب بحضرت * * ٩٦

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[1] Narnól is a district N.W. of Agrah, and in Akbar's time comprised seventeen *mahâls*, with an area of 20,80,046 *bighas*. The capital is situated "in lat 28° 5′ N., long. 75° 52′ E., 86 miles S.W. from the city of Dehli. It is a place of considerable antiquity, but now greatly reduced in size." Abúl Fazl mentions that this *mahál* was celebrated for its copper mines, and mints were established in various localities for the immediate production of coin.—Áín-i-Akbari, ii. 48, and iii. 48: Hamilton's Hindústán, i. 401; and p. 403 *antè*.

SIKANDAR.

No. 369 (pl. v. fig. 197). Silver. Weight, 175 grs. Unique.
A.H. *962.*

Obverse—Square area, لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله

Reverse—سلطان سكندر شاه سور * * * ٩٦٢

Margins illegible.

No. 370. Copper. Weight, 35 grs. Rare. A.H. 962.

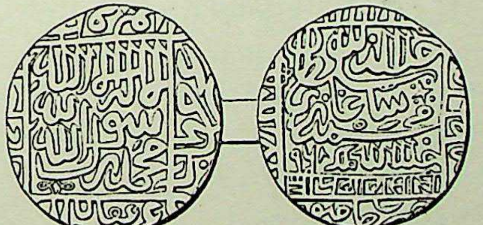
Obverse—سلطان سكندر

Reverse—سكندر شاه سلطاني

The subjoined coin is somewhat out of place in the present series, which professes to limit itself to purely Pathán times; but the design of the piece identifies itself curiously with the prior mintages of Shír Sháh and the succeeding types accepted by Akbar. (Stewart's Bengal, p. 147.)

JALA'L SHA'H OF BENGAL.

No. 371. Silver. Weight, 170 grs. Unique. Jájpúr, A.H. *968.*



Square areas.

لا الـــه الا الـــلـــه

محمد رسول الله

Margin—ابابكر صديق عمر

خطاب عثمان عفان علي

سلـــطـــان جلالدين

محـــمـــد شاه غازي

خلد الله ملكه ٩٦٨

श्री जलाल साही

Margin—

ابو المظفر ضرب جاجپور

AKBAR'S COINAGE.

I do not propose to include in the pages of this work any extended notice of the coins of Akbar, but there are many details in the practical working of his mints, of which we have an unusually full and complete record, under the hand of his minister, Abúl Fazl, that specially illustrate the antecedent developments of the coinages of his predecessors. His fiscal theories, whether in the elaboration of pure revenue accounts, or the subordinate adjustments of scales and weights, confessedly followed local standards, and, as such, may be said essentially to belong to the prior period. As bearing upon this transitional epoch, four points of interest present themselves—I. The remodelled and reconstructed coinage itself, with its singularly complicated adaptations to minor and pre-existent subdivisions of the currency. II. The more general question of the relative values of the precious metals at the moment, which forms a curious item in the exchanges of the Eastern world. III. The very complete scheme of Seigniorage in recognized operation as between the State and the bullion merchant. IV. The geographical distribution of the provincial mints, which necessarily followed, in more or less completeness, the ancient traditions of the land.

I. COINS OF AKBAR.

GOLD.

NAME.	WEIGHT.			VALUE.
	Tolahs.	Máshas.	Ratis.	
1. سهنسه *Sihansah*	101	9	7	= 100 L'al Jaláli *muhars* at 10 rupees each = 1,000 rupees, or 40,000 *dáms*.

NAME.	WEIGHT.			VALUE.
	Tolahs.	Máshas.	Ratis.	
2. Smaller variety of No. 1.	91	8	0	=100 *round muhars* at 11 *máshas* of gold or 9 rupees each = 900 rupees or 36,000 *dáms*.
3. رهس *Rahas*				= ½ of Nos. 1 or 2, as their individual contents may indicate.
4. آتمه *Átmah*				= ¼ of No. 1.
5. بنست *Binsat*				= $\frac{1}{5}$ of No. 1. Similar coins, officially declared of the lower values of $\frac{1}{8}$, $\frac{1}{10}$, $\frac{1}{20}$, and $\frac{1}{25}$ of No. 1.
6. چهارگوشه *Chahár Góshah* (*i.e.* square).	3	0	5¼	= 30 rupees. Stated in the text to be $\frac{1}{50}$ of No. 1, but seemingly nearer the proportion of $\frac{1}{30}$.
7. چگل *Chugul*	2	9	0	= 3 *round muhars* (No. 10), at 9 rupees each = 27 rupees. Recorded in the official summary as $\frac{1}{50}$ of No. 2, though in actual value more like the previous fraction of $\frac{1}{30}$.
8. الهي *Iláhi*	1	2	4¾	= 12 rupees.
9. افتابي *Aftábi*		12	1¾	= 10 rupees. The square L'al Jalláli is stated to be identical in weight and value. (The standard equivalent of 400 *dáms*.)

NAME.	WEIGHT.			VALUE.
	Tolahs.	Máshas.	Ratis.	
9*a*. لعل جلالي *L'al Jalálí* (Old).	1	0	$1\frac{3}{4}$	= 400 *dáms*, or 10 rupees. The extra weight beyond that allowed in the new coin, No. 9, is probably due to the lower degree of fineness of the gold,[1] which was confessedly less pure, *quoad* its metal, than the new coins issued from Akbar's better organized mints.
10. عدل گتکه *'Adl Guṭkah*		11	0	= 9 rupees. Also known as the ordinary *round muhar*, in value 360 *dáms*.[2]

Most of these latter coins have minor subdivisions of $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{1}{4}$, $\frac{1}{5}$, $\frac{1}{8}$, $\frac{1}{16}$, $\frac{1}{32}$.

Marsden has several gold coins weighing as much as 168 grains, which may be supposed to correspond with the *round muhar*, No. 10, whose full issue weight would have been (15·5×11)=170·5 grains. Among the rest, he has a *Mihrábi*, No. DCCCVIII., 166½ grains. And there are pieces, Nos. DCCCXVIII. and DCCCXIX., of 187·5 grains, and No. DCCCXXVI. of 188·0 grains, which are all very close upon the weight required for No. 9.

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[1] Calcutta text, p. 27; Gladwin, i. 37; Blochmann, p. 32. There is some obscurity in this passage. Gladwin's text gave a weight of 1.0.13¾. My Dehli MSS. all concur in the figures 1.0.1¾, and accord with the weight adopted in the Calcutta text. Under these circumstances, the translation of the context as "of the greatest degree of fineness," or "quite pure," must be modified to suit the facts. The original passage runs in my Dehli MSS.—اول لعل جلالي و آن بکرامي نام روشناس * وزن يک تولچه و يک سرخ و سه ربع و عيار بکمال (var. بکامل) قيمت چهار صد دام

[2] Also called under other forms, *Mihrábi* and *M'uíní*.

SILVER.

روپیه *Rupee* (round)[1] = 11 *máshas* 4 *ratis.*

جلاله *Jalálah* (square) = 11 *máshas* 4 *ratis.*

Subdivisions—درب *Darb*, $\frac{1}{2}$; چرن *Charn*, $\frac{1}{4}$; پانڈو *Pandu*, $\frac{1}{5}$; اشٹ *Ashṭ*, $\frac{1}{8}$; دسا *Dasá*, $\frac{1}{10}$; کلا *Kalá*, $\frac{1}{16}$; سوکي *Súki*, $\frac{1}{20}$.

The *old* Akbar Sháhi round rupee was estimated at 39 *dáms.* The above coins were the revised representatives of 40 *dáms.*[2]

COPPER.

دام *Dám* = 1 *tolah* 8 *máshas* 7 *ratis*, or about 323·5625 grains of opper (estimating the *rati* at 1·9375 grains).

ادهيله *Adhélah* = half a *dám.*

پاوله *Páulah* = a quarter of a *dám.*

دمري *Damri* = one-eighth of a *dám.*

The numismatic world in Europe was greatly excited a short time ago by the discovery of a Bactrian coin of Eukratides (B.C. 185), in gold,[3] of the unusual weight of 2593·5 grains, constituting, in the Greek scheme, a *twenty-stater piece*, or $\frac{1}{15}$ *talent*. Is is curious that the Greeks should so early have adapted themselves to Eastern notions of bullion and ingots, although they reduced the crude lump of metal to the classic form in which it now exists. This numismatic precedent introduces us appropriately to the massive medals of Akbar's mints. There was an idea abroad at one time that these Sihansah *coins* were merely occasional pieces, struck more for vanity sake than for real utility; but the number of specimens found ready prepared amid Akbar's reserved treasures,[1] and the continuity of their issue by succeeding

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[1] Inscription. *Obverse*—الله اكبر جل جلاله
Reverse—Date.

[2] To show how completely the *dám* was understood to form *the* unit or standard in all exchanges, it may be noticed, in addition to the theoretical evidence quoted above, as to the adjustment of the coinage in the higher metals to the more comprehensive totals in *dáms*, that, practically, the *dám* was the ready money of prince and peasant. Abúl Fazl relates that a *kror* of *dáms* was kept ready for gifts, etc., within the palace, "every thousand of which is kept in bags." Bernier mentions the continuation, even to Aurangzéb's time, of the same custom of having bags of 1000 *dáms* ready for distribution. His words are—"et leur fait donner sur l'heure un sac de Peyssas, ce qui vient à environ cinquante francs" (ii. p. 65).

[3] This piece is highly finished in some of its artistic details, but is crude and imperfect in other respects. The difficulty of driving the high relief of the obverse die *home* is curiously illustrated by the palpable reapplication of that die, and a second resort to the hammer; but, in the process, the reverse die, which was less deep in its engraved surface, had been disregarded and shifted half way round, so that the second impression nearly obliterates the first, but still the former has left traces, in the texture of the gold, of the previous impact. The

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medal presented no particular novelty, such as should enhance its value to a numismatist, except its weight, as the type of the helmeted head of the king and the Dioscuri *reverse* were sufficiently common. The coin is now in the Bibliothèque in Paris. See M. Chaboulet, Revue Numismatique, 1867, p. 382; Gen. Cunningham, Numismatic Chronicle, 1869, p. 220; Wilson's Ariana Antiqua, pl. iii. figs. 1–3; Prinsep's Essays, ii. 185, etc.

[1] علاي ده كرور روپيه و هزار كرور لعل خاصّة كه پادشاه بدست خود جدا كرده بود ده من پخته طلاي غير منسكوك و هفتاد من پخته نقرهٔ غير مسكوك و شصت من پخته بول سياه و پنجهزار كرور تنكه

—Ferishtah, Bombay Lithographed Persian text, i. p. 517.

That is to say—*a*. 10,00,00,000 'Alâi rupees (Nos. 132–134, *suprà*).
" " *b*. 1,000,00,00,000. *Special* gold Muhars (or square L'al Jalâlis, No. 9 of Akbar's *own* coins).
" " *c*. 10 *mans* of uncoined gold.
" " *d*. 70 " " " silver.
" " *e*. 60 " " " copper.
" " *f*. 5,000,00,00,000 *tankahs* (? copper).

Briggs's translation (ii. p. 281) varies some of these items; for instance, *b* is given as 1 *kror* only, and is associated with the '*Alái* of the opening sentence.

Knáfi Khán's enumeration, in the Muntakhab al Lubáb, is as follows:—

و وقت وفات او كه عرض خزانه كرفتند سواي اشرفيهاي كلان كه از صد توله تا پانصد توله هزار اشرفي در خرانه موجود بود و ده كرور

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kings,[1] seems to indicate that they were consistently designed to serve for the purposes of larger payments, such as our civilized age recognizes in one hundred pound notes, etc. Moreover, there was clearly a great temptation to the production of such single pieces when the State or the Sovereign himself, as will presently be shown, could realize the seigniorage of 5½ per cent., or from £5 10*s.* to £27 10*s.*, by each application of the royal dies.

روپیه و اشرفي طلائ یازده ماشه و سیزده و چهارده ماشه و دو صد و
هفتاد و دو من طلاي غیر مسکوک و سیصد و هفتاد من نقره بوزن
خام سواي جواهر که قیمت آن از سه کرور روپیه تجوز نموده بود

—Calcutta Persian text, i. p. 243. The printed Persian text is obscure. The MS. of the Royal As. Soc., No. 77, xcviii., slightly improves the run of the sentence.

a. No definite specification is given, except the general reference to Gold Muhars of *three* varying standards (8, 9, 10, Akbar's series? whose weights are erroneously given as 11, 13, and 14 *máshas*), and an allusion to the massive gold pieces of 100 *tolahs* and *upwards* to 500 *tolahs.*

b. 10,00,00,000 rupees.

c. 272 *mans* crude gold.

d. 370 ,, ,, silver.

g. 1 *man* of selected jewels, valued at 3,00,00,000 rupees.

R. Hawkins also speaks of 20,000 gold pieces, of 1,000 rupees each, and 50,000 silver pieces of "Selim Sha of 100 Toles a piece," as existing in Jahángír's treasury.—Purchas i. 217.

[1] *a.* There is a gilt copper cast of a Gold Muhar of Sháh Jahán, dated Sháhjahánábád, 1064 A.H., in the Asiatic Society's Collection at the India Museum, measuring 5¼ inches in diameter, and weighing in its representative metal 2 lbs. 1 oz. 7 dr. The original gold medal itself is fully described by Richardson, in his Persian Dictionary (edition 1829, p. 840), where it is stated to have weighed "above 70 ounces," being 4 inches in diameter, and "4 lines in thickness." In its legend it purports to represent a piece of 200 *muhars.*—*b.* There is a silver medal at Dresden of Aurangzéb, minted at Sháhjahánábád in the tenth year of his reign, 4·4 inches in diameter, which weighs 5 Saxon lbs. = 5·1545 lbs. English. "Kehr," "Aurenkséb," Lipsiæ, 1725. See also Marsden, pp. 641.

The Persian monarchs also issued large pieces in silver. Marsden, No. DLVI., p. 466, gives a coin of Husain Sháh (A.H. 1121) weighing 4,983 grains; and Prinsep has described a piece of the same monarch (A.H. 1118) weighing 844·3 grains.—Jour. As. Soc. Bengal, 1838, p. 415.

II. From this summary of the minted coins of Akbar, as distinguished from the fanciful interchanges of names and terms applied to one and the same piece or measure of value, which have needlessly puzzled modern commentators, we may pass to the higher consideration of ratios of gold and silver, as proved by the rate of exchange formulated for the two metals in the practical mechanical department of the mint, and simultaneously promulgated in official language as the accepted rate of exchange.

Abúl Fazl's copious and somewhat tedious statistics may be concentrated in their leading results as follows:—

No. 1. The massive piece, the Sihansah, of the above table, in value 100 L'al Jalális, gives a return of weight in *gold* of *tolahs* 101, *máshas* 9, *ratis* 7 = 1000 *silver* rupees : 18328 : : 172,500 (172·5×100×10) : 1 : : 9·4118.

No. 2. The second or lower Sihansah, of 100 round *muhars*, produces a similar result. Weight in *gold*, *tolahs* 91, *máshas* 8 = 900 *silver* rupees : 16500 : : 155250· (172·5×100×9) : 1 : : 9·409.

No. 6. Weight in gold, *tolahs* 3, *máshas* 0, *ratis* $5\frac{1}{4}$ = 30 rupees of $11\frac{1}{2}$ *máshas* each : 549·84 : : 172·5×30 (5175·0) : 1 : : 9·4118.

No. 7. Weight in gold, *tolahs* 2, *máshas* 9 = 27 rupees : 495 : : 172·5×27 (4657·5) : 1 : : 9·409.

No. 8. Weight in gold, *tolah* 1, *máshas* 2, *ratis* $4\frac{3}{4}$ = 12 rupees : 218·90 : : 172·5×12 (2070·0) : 1 : : 9·4563.

No. 9. Weight in gold, *máshas* 12, *ratis* $1\frac{3}{4}$ = 10 rupees : 183·28 : : 172·5×10 (1725·0) : 1 : : 9·4118.

No. 10. 'Adl Guṭkah, or Round Muhar, also called Mihrábi. Weight in gold, 11 *máshas* = 9 rupees : 165 : : 172·5×9 (1552·5) : 1 : : 9·40909.

These estimates are made upon the bases of the ordinary *tolah* of 180 grains, the *másha* of 15 grains, and the *rati* of 1·875 grains. The question of corresponding values in the English or any other scale need not affect the parallel result.[1]

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[1] I gave more prominence to the above calculations, and even tested anew my earlier returns by the independent totals afforded by the larger sums originally omitted, because the obvious result of gold being to silver as one to 9·4, had been called in question by an official of the Calcutta mint (a Dr. Shekleton), who, however, while unable either to correct my data, or to produce any possible evidence against my conclusions, ventured to affirm that "9·4 to one is a relative value of gold to silver, which never could really have existed" (Jour. As. Soc. Bengal, 1864, p. 517). Nevertheless, here is a series of comparative weights and values, furnished by the highest authority of the day, and each and all producing returns absolutely identical up to the first place of decimals. My original estimates were sketched and published at Dehli, in 1851, where I had access to the best MSS., to the most comprehensive range of antiquarian relics, and at command the most intelligent oral testimony in the land. When reprinting Prinsep's "Useful Tables," I had occasion to quote these calculations, and was able to fortify them, had it been needed, by the precisely analogous results obtained by Colonel W. Anderson, who had tried Abúl Fazl's figures, from MSS. pure and simple, without any disturbing difficulty about coins (Prinsep's Useful Tables, London edition, vol. ii. p. 32). But if there were the faintest reason for doubting so moderate a rate as one to 9·4, the whole discussion might be set at rest by Abúl Fazl's own statement as translated by Gladwin into English in 1783, when, in completing a very elaborate review of the profit and loss of refining gold, for the purpose of coinage, he concludes, and the process "leaves a remainder of about *one-half a tolah* of gold, the value of which is four rupees" (i. p. 44).

Richard Hawkins, who was at Agrah in A.D. 1609–11, during the reign of Jahángír, has left a notice of certain accumulated treasures of that prince which he was permitted to behold, and amongst the rest he specifies, "In primis, of Seraffins Ecberi, which be ten rupias apiece." To this passage is added, in a marginal note, that "a tole is a rupia challany [current] of silver, and ten of these toles are of the value of one of gold." (Purchas i. 217.) This evidence might at first sight seem to militate against the conclusion arrived at from the official returns above summarized, but the value of gold was clearly on the rise, and one of the aims of Akbar's legislation on metallic exchanges, which had necessarily been disturbed by progressive modifications in the relative values of the precious metals, was manifestly to secure an authoritative *even* reckoning by tens and hundreds. The old round *muhar* (No. 10 of the above list) represented the inconvenient sum of nine rupees, or 360 *dáms*. By raising the weight of the piece to the higher total

III. The next section of Akbar's mint organization, which I have now to notice, is the amply defined official recognition of the law of seigniorage. The following outline table gives the results of a very uniform and well understood royalty, or mint charge, of over 5½ per cent. upon the conversion of bullion into coin; and the Oriental craving after small profits is graphically confessed in the proviso that the State

given under No. 9, the gold *iláhi* was made equivalent to ten rupees, or in fiscal reckoning to 400 *dáms*. Similarly, in the case of the silver coin, the old rupee passed for 39 *dáms ;* in the new currency, a value of 40 *dáms* was secured, not by an increase of weight, but by the declared and doubtlessly achieved higher standard of the metal employed, aided by the advantage that contemporary mintages so readily secured in India.

The question of the relative values of gold and silver formed the subject of discussion at a subsequent meeting of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (6th December, 1865), when Colonel Lees stated his objections to some of my inferences. As I understand, he freely admits the correctness of the figures given above to establish the rate of *one* to 9·4; but he is disposed to distrust "calculations based upon mint regulations, during a period when the principle of a standard was but imperfectly understood even in Europe, and upon a unit of measure not accurately ascertained." I trust that the more ample details furnished in this volume will satisfy him that the Dehli mint authorities had arrived at very distinct notions of the comparative values of the precious metals, and had elaborated the details of exchanges with very considerable success, when the singular complications of previous currencies had to be taken into account. I have already seen and corrected the error of my first interpretation of Ibn Batutah's text; and as regards Gladwin's translation of the passage above quoted, "which leaves a remainder," etc., I have not the slightest wish to uphold it in the face of a more full and rigorous interpretation of the special text; but ordinarily, a linguist of good repute, who has translated so big a book as the Á'ín-i Akbari, arrives at a pretty fair conception of the meaning of his author! I myself had no reserve in correcting Gladwin's figures; but in his simple reproduction of Indian phrases, I was quite content to follow such an authority without a critical re-examination of his Persian version. The argument about the half *tolah*, however, is as unimportant at the present moment as the now rectified passage of Ibn Batutah, the value of whose statements on the subject of local money has altogether been superseded by the more exact details contributed by the Masálik ul Absár, pp. 238, *suprà*. I see that Sir T. Roe, incidentally speaking of the weight of Jahángír, specifies it as 9,000 rupees, or £1,000 sterling.

should benefit for the amount of interest the merchant might possibly have had to pay.

Outlay by merchants in current coin, for crude metal.	Total Mint return after refining.				Merchants' return, with fractional profits.				State seigniorage.			
	Muhars.	Rs.	Dáms.	Jitals.	M.	R.	D.	J.	M.	R.	D.	J.[1]
100 L'al Jálali Gold Muhars	a. 105	39	25	0	100	12	37	3½	5	12	3½	0
950 Rupees (crude metal test)	b.	1006	27	20		953	21	10½		50	13	0
950 Rupees (old coin test)	c.	1015	20	0		954	29	0		50	24	0
1044 *dáms* (the cost of one *man* of copper)	d.		1170	0			1062	19½			58	20

Mint charges—*a.* Rs. 7.26.20½; *b.* Rs. 2.33.2; *c.* Rs. 10.12.14¾; *d.* Rs. 1.8.18.

Dr. H. Blochmann (pp. 37, 38) notices some minor errors in the simple addition of the several items, . . . and there are obvious discrepancies in the totals assigned for the mint charges. Gladwin's figures are also more or less uncertain (i. 45).

IV. AKBAR'S MINTS.

اٹک Aṭṭok.
اجمیر Ajmír.
احمداباد Aḥmadábád.* †
(Gujarát).

اگره Agrah.* †
الور Alwar.
الہاباس Ilahábás.†
اوده Oude.

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[1] In cases where the gold employed belongs to the State, an extra deduction is made for the interest the merchant would otherwise have had to pay, to the amount of rupees 6.37½ (Gladwin, 6.10.12½).

AKBAR'S MINTS—*continued.*

اوجين	Ujain.†
بداون	Badáon,
بنارس	Benáres.
بنگاله	Bengál.* †
بهکر	Bhakar.
پٹن	Paṭṭan.
پٹنه	Paṭnah.†
بهره	Bhirah.
ٹانڈه	Ṭánḍah.†
جالندهر	Jálandhar.
جونپور	Jaunpúr.
حصار فيروزه	Hissár Fírúzah.
دهلي	Dehli.†
رنتهنبهور	Ranthambhor.
سارنگپور	Sárangpúr.
سرونج	Sironj.
سرهند	Sirhind. (var. سهرند).
سنبهل	Sambhal.
سورت	Súrat.†
سهارنپور	Sahávanpúr.
سيالکوٹ	Síálkóṭ.
قنوج	Kanauj.
کابل	Kábul.* †
کالپي	Kálpi.
کشمير	Kashmír.†
کلانور	Kalánúr.
گواليار	Gwálior.
گورکهپور	Gorakhpúr.
لاهور	Láhor.†
لکهنو	Lakhnau.
متهره	Maṭhura.
ملتان	Multán.†
منڈو	Manḍú.
ناگور	Nágor.
هردوار	Hardwár

Those mints marked * were alone permitted to coin gold. The issue of silver money was restricted to the cities marked with †, and the other towns coined nothing but copper.

In order to form a correct estimate of the effective value of money, and the purchasing power of the income of the State, it is necessary to take into consideration the prices of provisions at the period. The following Table will give some idea of the extraordinary cheapness of food, though the prices are sufficiently high for the discriminated articles of luxury.

AVERAGE PRICES OF PROVISIONS IN AKBAR'S REIGN.[1]

Wheat, گندم, 12 *dáms* per *man* of 55·467,857 lbs. avoirdupois.

,, Flour, according to fineness, from 22 to 15 *dáms*.

Barley, جو, 8 *dáms* per *man* (ground barley, 11 *dáms*).

Rice, شالی and برنج, varieties, according to qualities, ranging from the extremes of 110 to 20 *dáms* per *man*.

Pulse, مونگ *(Phaseolus mungo)*	18	*dáms* per *man*.
Mash, ماش *(Phaseolus radiatus)*	16	,, ,,
Nakhúd, نخود *(Cicer arietinum)*	16½	,, ,,
Moṭh, موٹھ *(Phaseolus aconitifolius)*	12	,, ,,
Juwár, جوار *(Holcus sorghum)*	10	,, ,,
White Sugar, شکر سفید	128	,, ,,
Brown ,, شکر سرخ	56	,, ,,
Ghí (clarified butter) روغنِ زرد	105	,, ,,
Sesamum Oil, روغنِ تیل	80	,, ,,
Salt, نمک	16	,, ,,

Sheep from 6½ to 1½ rupees each. Mutton, 65 *dáms* per *man*. Goats' flesh, 54 *dáms* per *man*.

The official *man* of Akbar's reign is defined as 40 *sirs*, each *sir* comprising the weight of 30 *dáms*. This gives a return for the *man* of 388,275 grains, or very nearly half a hundred weight avoirdupois.[1] So that, at the rate of 12 *dáms* for the *man* of wheat, and the exchange of 2*s.* per rupee, the quarter of corn would only cost about $3\frac{6}{10}$*d.* Fírúz Sháh's price current (p. 283), reckoned in *jítals*, would give an almost identical result, *i.e.* 8 *jítals*, or 3*d.* in English money, for the then *man* of wheat, estimated at 28 lbs.; and 'Alá-ud-dín's earlier (A.D. 1295-1315) and assumedly forced reduction upon ordinary current prices would differ only to the almost imperceptible extent of half a *jítal*—"or 7½ *jítals* per *man*, of 28 lbs. (p. 160).

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[1] Gladwin, i. p. 85; Blochmann, p. 62; Calcutta Persian text, p. 60. Abúl Fazl remarks—"The prices, of course, vary, as on marches, or during the rainy season, and for other reasons; but I shall give here the average prices."

COMPARATIVE COST OF LABOUR.

Bricklayers . . .	7 *dáms*	to 4 *dáms*	per day	(or $4\frac{2}{10}$*d.* to $2\frac{4}{10}$*d.*).
Carpenters . .	7 ,,	2 ,,	,,	
Bíldárs[2]	3½ ,,	3 ,,	,,	
Ordinary labourers .	2 ,,		,,	(or $1\frac{2}{10}$*d.*).

Matchlockmen, in the royal army, 6 rupees per month.

Archers . . . . 2½ rupees. ,,

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[1] The figures are as follows: 323·5625 grains (the *dám*) × 30 × 40 = 388,275·0. The English half-hundredweight, 56 lbs. avoirdupois, is 392,000 grains. Then 24 pence ÷ 40 = 2·4 farthings, or 12 *dáms* = 7·2 pence. As regards the *jítals*, the sum runs, 24 pence ÷ 64 = 1·5 farthing, or 1·5 × 8 = 12 farthings, or 3 pence. Colonel Anderson's independent but somewhat vague estimate of Akbar's *man* was 368,880·0 grains.—Prinsep, Useful Tables, p. 22. It has been so far demonstrated, at p. 161, that the *man* of 'Alá-ud-dín's time (A.D. 1295–1315) ranged at something over 28 lbs. avoirdupois; and I should have been greatly inclined to distrust the extraordinary weight now assigned to Akbar's *man*, were it not that Abúl Fazl expressly mentions (p. 100) that "formerly" the *sir* consisted of 18 *dáms* in some parts of Hindústán, of 22 *dáms* in other divisions of the country, and of 28 *dáms* on the accession of Akbar, who himself raised it to 30 *dáms*. Moreover, we have seen that the weight of the *dám* itself was also largely increased from its ancient limit in Shír Sháh's reign. Under these circumstances, objection can scarcely be taken to the total now produced from the figured data and extant coins of the period; which, strange to say, closely accords with R. Hawkins's rough definition of Jahángír's *man* as "55 lbs. weight."—Purchas i. 218.

[2] One who works with a *bíl* or *bél*, "a pickaxe." A navvy.

AKBAR'S REVENUES.

I have had occasion to advert incidentally to the revenues of India during Akbar's reign, in connexion with the State resources of his predecessors. As much obscurity has prevailed with regard to the correct comprehension of values, even where figures were unassailable, I revert to the subject in its appropriate association with Akbar's monetary system, in order to exhibit more fully the absolute data available for the determination of the relative amount of the taxes imposed upon the dominions of that great monarch, at the period.

It must be premised, in forming any comparative estimate of these assessments, that each province had to furnish a State contingent of cavalry and infantry, specified in full detail with other imperial demands, apart from the mere money payments entered in the divisional accounts; so that the country had to support a very large, though probably ineffective, army, over and above its ordinary revenue liabilities. The number of men mustered in this Zamíndári force is reckoned at the very high figure of 4,400,000, in addition to the due proportion of horses and elephants each sub-division was bound to maintain. No reduction is made in the State demand for the payment of these troops, who are styled بومی *Búmi*, "Landwehr," in contradistinction to the better organized Royal army. If we estimate the cost to the country for this force at the very low figure of two rupees per man (including the purchase and feed of horses and elephants), it amounts of itself to a sum of more than ten millions of pounds, which as a purely speculative estimate might honestly be doubled.

I repeat the substance, and enlarge the context, of Nizám-ud-dín Ahmad's statement of the amount of the current income, and again venture to impress upon all those who would follow up the inquiry, the value of the evidence on this and cognate subjects contributed by an author who had served for many years as *Bakhshi*, or military accountant, practically as co-administrator of the province of Gujarát.

Speaking of the country of Hindústán, he proceeds—"Its length from Hindú Kóh, on the borders of Badakhshán, to the country of Orissa, which is on the borders of Bengal, from west to east, is 1680 legal *kos*. Its breadth from Kashmír to the hills of Barújh, which is on the borders of Súrat and Gujarát, is 800 *kos* Iláhi. Another mode is to take the breadth from the hills of Kumáon to the borders of the Dakhan, which amounts to 1000 Iláhi *kos*. . . . At the present time, namely, A.H. 1002, Hindústán contains 3,200 towns (including 120 large cities) and 500,000 villages, and yields a revenue of 640,00,00,000 *tankahs*."[1] The author adds, that as there is no room for the list of cities in this summary, he will give them in full alphabetical order on some future occasion, a task he seems never to have fulfilled.

Abúl Fazl's returns of Akbar's revenues are summarized from his imperfect data in the subjoined table, amounting, with later returns, but with all other deficiencies, to a total of *five arbs*,[2] *sixty-seven krors, sixty-three laks*, 83 *thousand and* 383 *dáms*, a sum not very far removed, with fair allowances for omissions in such imperfect documents,[1] from the speculative correction of *six arbs*, proposed at p. 389. There is no suspicion of Abúl Fazl's want of faith, even if any motive could be imagined for such a tendency; but it is clear that a comprehensive work like the A'ín-i Akbari, a positive gazetteer of all India, must have been compiled from the statistics of various State departments, working with but little systematic concert, and its tabulated returns but imperfectly brought up to the changes of the day.[2]

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[1] See p. 388 *antè*; Elliot's Index, p. 204; Morley's Catalogue of the Royal Asiatic Society's MSS., p. 61; Stewart's Catalogue of Tippoo Sultán's Library, p. 11.

[2] The *Arb* अर्बुद ارب is 100 millions, or 100 *krors*; the *kror* is 100 *laks*, and the *lak* 100 thousand.

I.	Allahábád	21,24,27,119	*dáms.*
II.	Agrah	[3] 54,62,50,304	,,
III.	Oude	20,17,58,172	,,
IV.	Ajmír	[4] 28,61,37,968	,,
V.	Ahmadábád (Gujarát)	43,68,02,301	,,
	,, ,, Port dues	1,62,628	,,
VI.	Bihár	22,19,19,404	,,
VII.	Bengal	59,84,59,319	,,
VIII.	Dehli	60,16,15,555	,,

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[1] The majority of these *taksím jam'a* statements refer to the fifteenth year of the reign, and probably indicate a much lower revenue than the improved management of the succeeding twenty-five years secured for the State. The incorporation, however, of the returns of the new *súbahs* plainly demonstrates the system of later additions to the original text.

[2] Akbar claims to have abolished numerous vexatious taxes, which it is admitted "used to equal the quit-rent of Hindústán" (Gladwin, i. 359). A full enumeration of these cesses is given in the A'ín-i Akbari, and among other State demands thus abandoned figures the especially Muhammadan *Jiziah*, or Poll-tax (see note 5, p. 272 *antè*), levied upon unbelievers. This, in effect, constituted a rough species of income-tax, being graduated according to the means of the different classes of the Hindú commu [illegible] It may be said to have been invidious, in the one sense; but it was simple, easily collected, and had none of the odious inquisitorial adjuncts of the British Income-tax. We find the *Jiziah*, however, in restored vigour during succeeding reigns.

[3] Gladwin has 64 *krors.*

[4] This total is obtained from the Sirkár details. Gladwin's text, p. 105, has only 2,28,41,507 *dáms.*

IX.	Kábul[1]	Simple *dáms*	27,27,17,786	*dáms.*
		Converted money, omitting payments in kind	5,01,23,200	„
X.	Láhor		55,94,58,423	„
XI.	Multán		[2] 38,40,30,589	„
XII.	Málwah		24,06,95,052	„
			4,61,25,57,820	old *súbahs.*
XIII.	Berár[3] (from the *taḳsím jam'a*)		69,50,44,682	*dáms.*
XIV.	Khandés[4]		30,25,29,488	„
XV.	Ahmadnagar (not entered).			
	Tatah		6,62,51,393	„
			1,06,38,25,563	new *súbahs.*

Grand total ... ... 5,67,63,83,383 *dáms*, at the rate of 20 *double dáms* per rupee= Rs. 28,38,19,169, or £28,381,916.

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[1] Otherwise designated as "Súbah Kashmir" (ii. p. 152), "Kábul, cited as the modern capital" (p. 199), subordinated equally as "Sirkár Kábul," but under the final *taḳsím jam'a*, p. 107, elevated to the rank of "Súbah Kábul." Under Sirkár Kandahár (p. 196), there is a full definition of the relative values of the coins, in which the comparative estimates are framed, viz., 18 *dinárs* = 1 *tumán*, each local *tumán* being = 800 *dáms*. A *note* is attached to the effect that the *tumán* of Khorásán is 30 rupees, and that of Irak 40 rupees.

[2] The Multán return, in the preliminary statement, is 15,14,03,619, both in the Calcutta revised text and in Gladwin's old translation. The above figures exhibit the combined *taḳsím jam'a* or detail apportionment of the revenue of the several districts included in the Súbah, entered in the working or administrative lists.

[3] This return is taken from the detailed statements, pp. 61–68. The returns are clearly imperfect, and filled up with fanciful figures in the lower totals, a fact which contrasts in a marked manner with the precision observed in the minor figures of the revenues of the more definitely settled provinces. The total here obtained, however, does not differ very materially from the summary of local *tankahs* quoted below from another part of the work, though it seems to indicate a later manipulation and elaboration of accounts. "This *súbah* (Berár) contains 13 *sirkárs* divided into 142 *pergunnahs*. The *tankah* of this country is equal to eight of those of Dehli. Originally the amount of revenue was 3½ *krors* of *tankahs*, or 56 *krors* of *dáms*; . . . during the government of Sultán Murád the amount rose to 64,26,03,272 *dáms*."—Áín-i Akbari, Gladwin, ii. p. 74.

[4] The introductory summary of the Súbah of Khandés (p. 66) estimates the

I have placed the subjoined estimates of the Indian imperial revenues, at various periods, in close juxtaposition with a view to availing myself of the opportunity of explaining the seemingly anomalous contrasts they present in their opening totals, and of tracing, in as much consecutive order as the materials admit of, the varying phases of the national progress.

	Silver Tankahs (or Rupees).	£ sterling at 2s. per Rupee.
Fírúz Sháh, A.D. 1351–1388.	6,08,50,000.	6,085,000 (p. 272).
Bábar, A.D. 1526–1500	2,60,00,000.	2,600,000 (p. 388).
Akbar, A.D. 1593..............	32,00,00,000.	32,000,000 (p. 388).
Akbar, *estimated* later returns	33,14,87,772.	33,148,777 (p. 389).
Aurangzéb, A.D. 1697..........	38,71,94,000.	38,719,400 (p. 390).

The leading item of the relatively large income of Fírúz Sháh, with his avowedly narrowed boundaries, would naturally seem to conflict with the reduced total confessed to by Bábar, who boasted of so much greater a breadth of territory; but these difficulties are susceptible of very simple explanation. In Fírúz Sháh's time the country was positively full to overflowing of the precious metals, which had been uniformly attracted towards the capital from various causes for nearly a century previously. The innate wealth of the metropolitan provinces may be tested by the multitude of the extant specimens of the gold and silver coinages of the previous reigns, and the confessed facility with which millions might be accumulated by officials of no very high degree. The whole land was otherwise teeming with mate-

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revenue at 12,64,762 Berári *tankahs*, at 24 *dáms* the *tankah*, that is to say, at 3,03,54,288 *dáms;* but the distribution list at p. 60, 2nd part, raises the sum total to 1,26,47,062 *tankahs*, or 30,25,29,488 *dáms*. There is clearly an error of figures in the first quotation, which the detailed totals of the 32 *pergunnahs* in themselves suffice to prove, as they mount up in simple addition to the still larger sum of 1,55,46,863 *tankahs*.

rial wealth, and was administered by home-taught men, who realized every fraction that the State could claim.

Far different were the circumstances which Bábar's limited tenure of his straggling conquests presented. Tímúr had effectually ruined the land through which his plundering hordes had passed—what his followers could not carry away they destroyed; and while the distant provinces retained their wealth the old capital and all around it was impoverished to desolation; so that when the prestige of Dehli re-asserted itself under Buhlól Lódi, he was forced to resort to the local copper mines for a new currency (p. 363); and though public affairs and national wealth improved under his son Sikandar, the standard coin was only raised to something like $\frac{1}{10}$ silver to the copper basis, which, however, secured a more portable piece, and a more creditable value, a currency which found ready acceptance with races who had already been educated in the theory of mixed metals. The substantial prosperity of Hindústán under Ibrahím, the son of Sikandar, was absolutely unprecedented. Cheapness and plenty became fabulous even to the native mind, but this very prosperity of the people reduced, *pari passu*, the income of the king which was derived directly from the produce of the land, his dues being primarily payable in kind, so that when corn was cheap the money value of his revenues declined in equal proportion.[1] And thus it came about that

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[1] It was with a view to remedy this state of things that Akbar introduced his *ten* years' settlement, the germ of that pernicious measure, Lord Cornwallis's Perpetual Settlement. Akbar's intentions were equitable, and the pact as between king and subjects left little to be objected to; but the uniformity it was desired to promote was dependent upon higher powers, and the Indian climate could not be made a party to the treaty. Hence, in bad seasons, the arrangement worked harshly against the poorer cultivators, and threw them more and

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when Bábar examined the accumulated treasures of the house of Lódi, at Agrah, he found but little beyond the current copper coinage leavened with a small modicum of silver.

The statistical returns of Babar's time were clearly based upon the old rent-rolls of that unacknowledged originator of all later Indian revenue systems, Sikandar bin Buhlól. A single subdued confession in Bábar's table[1] suffices to prove this, and simultaneously with the retention of these State ledgers the interlopers clearly accepted the official method of reckoning in Sikandari Tankahs, which, numismatically speaking, must have been almost the only coins available at the period, the prolific issue of which may be tested by the multitude of the pieces still in existence, and the completeness of the series of dates spreading over 26 continuous years of Sikandar's reign, already cited at page 366.

The rest of these comparative returns may be dismissed with brief notice. The statement of Nizám-ud-dín Ahmad is clear as to Abbar's revenues in A.D. 1593. The reception of the speculative return for the later period of his reign depends upon the accuracy of my rectification of Abúl Fazl's Persian text, and the justification of my assumption that *the dáms*, in which the totals are framed, were double and not single *dáms*. For this correction I have no specific authority beyond the coincidence of Nizám-ud-dín's employment of an identical measure of value in his parallel return, and the consistency with which the aggregate sum produced

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more into the hands of usurers, whose lawful Oriental rate of interest was enough to crush far more thrifty cultivators than the ordinary Indian *Raiyat*. The *ten* years' settlement itself was based upon the average returns of the ten preceding harvests, from the fifteenth to the twenty-fourth year (inclusive) of Akbar's reign. —Gladwin, i. p. 366.

[1] No. 5, "Méwát, not included in Sikandar's revenue roll" (p. 390).

accords with the enhanced revenue of the kingdom under Aurangzéb.

Here I take leave of this branch of my leading subject, which, if it fails to secure the attention of the general reader, cannot but assert its importance with those who interest themselves in the real welfare of India, and who are prepared to recognize the pervading influence of the past upon the possible future of the land Great Britain has accepted as a profitable heritage, without any very clear conception of associate responsibilities.

APPENDIX.

As the subject of Indian finance is just now attracting the serious attention of the English public, I have thought it advisable to reproduce in full the information summarized at pp. 433–7, regarding the revenues of Akbar and Aurangzéb; and, further, to test my own deductions by some new data, which I have obtained since the previous pages were set up by the printer.

The general list of addenda includes the following:—

I. A brief but curious passage from De Laët,[1] which furnishes a fresh and independent test of the values of the various currencies in which the revenue returns of Akbar were framed.

II. The summarized return of Sháh Jahán's revenues, for his twentieth year, from the "Bádsháh Námah" of 'Abd al Hamíd, *Láhori*, a contemporary statement, which was adopted in all its integrity by another living witness, Áshná Ináyat Khán, in his Sháh Jahán Námah, and finally incorporated in Kháfi Khán's work on the history of the house of Tímúr.

III. The original text *in extenso* of Catron's comprehensive account of the land revenues of Aurangzéb, including his specification of other fiscal demands, raising the average burthen upon the country at large, to a second moiety or full equivalent of the sum obtained from the ordinary land-tax.[1]

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[1] De Imperio Magni Mogolis, sive India Vera, Joannes de Laët. Lugduni Batavorum, ex officina Elzeviriana, 1631. The section of the work from which the extract, now reprinted, is taken constitutes the tenth or supplementary chapter on Indian history, derived from contemporary national and other testimony, and translated into Latin from the Dutch. The dates of events are carried down to A.D. 1628.

IV. The statistics furnished by the traveller Bernier, which, though less full and complete than the associate return, are of considerable value, as being clearly derived from independent sources, and as confirming or correcting, as the case may be, the parallel figures preserved by Catron.

The first statistical return hereunto appended is contributed by De Laët from immediately contemporaneous information, and refers to a third or final phase of Akbar's revenue accounts, when his successor came to take stock of his father's accumulated treasures and current rent-roll. The document itself, which has only lately been brought to my notice,[2] furnishes a severe critical test of the soundness of the deductions previously arrived at from other sources: curiously enough, it confirms in the most definite manner my determination of the intrinsic value of the Sikandari Tankah (pp. 369, 384, 388), and upholds, what I felt at the moment to be almost a *tour de force*, in the suggested substitution of *six* for *three* in the "hundred millions" of Akbar's revenue entered in the corrupt Persian text of Abúl Fazl (pp. 388*n*, 437); but, on the other hand, the context of the Latin passage raises a doubt as to my justification in substituting double for single *dáms* in the reduction of the given total into other currencies. There need be no reserve in confessing that *all* commentators upon the revenue returns of the Áín-i-Akbari have hitherto

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[1] Catron, Histoire de l'Empire Mogol. Paris, 1715.

[2] My attention was first attracted to this curious and very rare work by an excellent article in the Calcutta Review (October, 1870, January, 1871), on the "Topography of the Mogul Empire," by Mr. E. Lethbridge, which traces, with equal patience and ability, the geographical details furnished by the opening chapter entitled "Indiæ sive Imperii Magni Mogolis Topographica Descriptio."

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concurred[1] in accepting the *dám* as $\frac{1}{40}$ part of a rupee; it is so defined in unmistakable terms in the table of coins (pp. 360 *n*, 421); but, singularly enough, there is no such parallel declaration of its value when it is entered under the generic name in the section of the work devoted to the revenue details. We have seen how frequently, in the Indian system, a nominal coin of a fixed denomination possessed no tangible representative, but was left to be made up in practice of two half pieces (pp. 361–2). So that if the archaic *Karsha* was so far a money of account as to be represented by two pieces of copper, and the Buhlóli in like manner remained an uncoined penny payable by two half-pence, we may readily admit their successor the *dám* to a similar theoretical and practical condition.

If we look to the origin of Akbar's revenue tables, there is much to support the view that the old Sikandari or *double dám* continued to hold its place in the State ledgers. Akbar, following Bábar's example, clearly took over Sikandar's original field measurements, even to the irrepressible *unit* of his yard measure (p. 373). We have no knowledge of the precise currency in which Shír Sháh's accounts were kept, but to judge by the ultimate retention of so much of Sikandar's system, there was probably no needless interference with established money values. In regard to De Laët's definitions, in as far as they conflict with probabilities, I should infer that the process by which he obtained his alternative totals was the application of the coin values entered in other sections of his work,[2] to the grand total of 6,98,00,00,000 *dáms* furnished to him by his informants. This is the process, as we have already seen, adopted by our own commentators, and in no way renders it obligatory upon us to accept any thing but the leading figures pure and simple; to test, therefore, the consistency of the results he arrives at, we must compare prior and subsequent statistics.

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[1] Myself among the number. Erskine was the first to propose, with much hesitation, the possibility of the alternative I now contend for.

[2] Especially from a notice on Akbar's treasures, p. 143, which, however, does not exhibit any profound knowledge of the subject. I may add, in connexion with

The true amount of Bábar's revenue is now completely demonstrated and established by the new definition of the "Tanga" as $\frac{1}{20}$ of a rupee. The gradual increment upon Akbar's early return of the thirty-ninth year (viz., £32,000,000) to £33,148,771 in later periods, and to £34,900,000 in the fifty-first year, is consistent in the several gradational sums, and leads naturally up to Aurangzéb's improved revenues of £38,719,400.[1] The question we have now to decide is, can the second and third of these totals be reduced with any seeming reason to one half, or the sums represented by a computation of the original totals at $\frac{1}{40}$ of a rupee?

If Nizám-ud-dín's total of £32,000,000, expressed in now positively ascertained values, refers to Akbar's land revenue alone (in 1593 A.D.), as it would seem to do, and Aurangzéb's unquestioned modern currency (or rupee) income of £38,719,400 represents the parallel increase in the charge upon the land incident to the enhanced wealth of the country and irregularly extended boundaries, the reduction of Akbar's 6,98,00,00,000 *dáms*, the sum returned for A.D. 1605, into £17,450,000, seems to be altogether inadmissible. It is true that Akbar professes to have abandoned taxes in amount "equal to the quit-rent of Hindústán" (p. 432), but that rent-charge throughout remained unaffected; these cesses were

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the notes at pp. 422, 433, *antè*, that De Laët's grand total of the contents of Akbar's treasure chamber, reduced into rupees, is defined at 19,83,46,666⅔, or £19,834,666.

[1] I accept Catron's total, though his detailed sums do not quite accord with

confessedly outside the fixed state demand on the land. And Aurangzéb in his turn realized from similar sources, according to Catron, a sum which in like manner doubled the normal (land) revenue of the empire. A still more approximáte test of comparative values is furnished by the computed revenues of an intermediate period, under Sháh Jahán, in 1648 A.D., when the accounts were still kept in the conventional *dáms*. These are stated by 'Abd al Hamíd to have amounted in all to the sum of 8,80,00,00,000 *dáms*.

I need not repeat the arguments already advanced in favour of the inference that these were *double dáms*, but the question may be

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the aggregate furnished in his text. I have tabulated these returns for facility of reference.

1.	Dehli	1,25,50,000	rupees.
2.	Agrah	2,22,03,550	„
3.	Láhor	2,33,05,000	„
4.	Ajmír	2,19,00,002	„
5.	Gujarát	2,33,95,000	„
6.	Málwah	99,06,250	„
7.	Bihár	1,21,50,000	„
8.	Multán	50,25,000	„
9.	Kábul	32,07,250	„
10.	Tata	60,02,000	„
11.	Bakar	24,00,000	„
12.	Urecha	57,07,500	„
13.	Kashmír	35,05,000	„
14.	Allahábád	77,38,000	„
15.	Dakhan	1,62,04,750	„
16.	Berár	1,58,07,500	„
17.	Kandés	1,11,05,000	„
18.	Baglana	68,85,000	„
19.	Mandú ?	72,00,000	„
20.	Bengal	4,00,00,000	„
21.	Ujain	2,00,00,000	„
22.	Rajmahal	1,00,50,000	„
23.	Bijapúr	5,00,00,000	„
24.	Golconda	5,00,00,000	„
		38,62,46,802	„

put broadly on its own merits, and apart from any foregone conclusion—does the sum of £22,000,000 (8,80,00,00,000 ÷ 40 ÷ 10) or the higher amount of £44,000,000 (8,10,00,00,000 ÷ 20 ÷ 10) more nearly accord with the clearly defined sum of £38,719,400 realized in A.D. 1697? was there anything in the history of the intervening half century to sanction the idea of an approximate advance of one-third in the revenue during the period, as implied in an increase of nearly seventeen millions, or is it more within the limits of common sense to suppose that the subsequent collections should have fallen off to the extent of 5¼ millions? Undoubtedly the latter represents a less abrupt transition, and is in some degree accounted for by the loss of Balkh, Kandahár, and Badakshán, which figure for respectable sums in Sháh Jahán's list, and the temporary possession of which may have largely influenced the general trade of India; but otherwise the provincial totals are too little in unison to afford any very safe basis of extended comparison.

Finally, to set the question of approximate values completely at rest, I am able to produce the unofficial but very material testimony of Captain Richard Hawkins, in support of my theory, regarding the system of reckoning by *double dáms*, to the effect that in A.D. 1609–1611 Jahángír's land revenue amounted to "50,00,00,000 rupees" (£50,000,000).[1] Our countryman dealt in round numbers, and refers to no authoritative data, so that his leading figures may be open to canvass; but the fact of rupee estimates being found intruding thus early upon the domain of the normal *dám*, enables us to check anew the relative values of the *dám* currency by the contemporaneous test of *rupee* equivalents. Under this aspect, my case may be said to be fully made out; no explanation, within the range of probabilities, would suffice to reduce the land revenues of 1605 A.D. to the single *dám* estimate of £17,450,000, in the face of a total of anything like an ordinary annual income of £50,000,000 in 1609–1611 A.D.

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[1] "The king's yearly income of his crown land is 50 crore of rupias, every crore is 100 lack, and every lack is 100 thousand rupias." Side-note—The rupia is two shillings sterling; some say 2*s*. 3*d*., some 2*s*. 6*d*.—Purchas, i. 216.

Sir Thomas Roe, writing from Ajmír, in A.D. 1615, adverts incidentally to Jahángír's revenues in the following terms:—"In revenue he doubtless exceeds either Turk or Persian or any Eastern Prince, the sums I dare not name."—Letter to Archbishop of Canterbury, in Churchill's Voyages, i. p. 659.

In conclusion, I recapitulate the contrasted returns of the nine periods.

	Silver Tankahs (or Rupees).	£ sterling at 2s. per rupee.
Fírúz Sháh, A.D. 1351–1388	6,08,50,000.	6,085,000
Bábar, A.D. 1526–1530	2,60,00,000.	2,600,000
Akbar, A.D. 1593..............	32,00,00,000.	32,000,000
Akbar, *estimated* later returns	33,14,87,772.	33,148,777
Akbar, A.D. 1605..............	34,90,00,000.	34,900,000
Jahángír, A.D. 1609–1611 ...	50,00,00,000.	50,000,000
Jahángír, A.D. 1628............	35,00,00,000.	35,000,000
Sháh Jahán, A.D. 1648	44,00,00,000.	44,000,000
Aurangzéb, A.D. 1697	38,71,94,000.	38,719,400

Aurangzéb's total revenue from various sources, 77,43,88,000 silver tankahs (or rupees), at 2*s*. per rupee=£77,438,800 sterling.

I. Parebant tum ipsi hæ provinciæ *Kandahaer*, *Kabul*, *Kassamier*, *Ghassenie*, *&* *Benazaed*, *Guzaratta*, *Sinde*, sive *Tatta*, *Gandhees*, *Brampor*, *Barar*, *Bengala*, *Orixa*, *Ode*, *Malouvu*, *Agra*, *Delly*, cum suis limitibus: è quibus annuus census colligitur, uti constat è rationali Regis Achabar; vi Areb & xcviii Caror, Dam, id est, si ad tangas exigas iii Areb and xlix Caror tangarum; sive secundum monetam regni, xx tangas in singulas rupias computando; aut i Caror tangarum in v lack rupiar. xvii Caror. & xlv Lack rupiarum: atque universus hic annuus census in Magnates, Ducesque & stipendia militum effunditur. De Thesauris à Rege Achabare relictis alibi diximus.

II. General revenue return for the twentieth year of the reign of Sháh Jahán (A.D. 1648), from the "Bádsháh Námah" of 'Abd al Hamíd, *Láhori.* The text adds, that at the death of Jahángír, in A.D. 1628, the Land Revenue of the State only amounted to 700,00,00,000 *dáms*, or £35,000,000. Various satisfactory causes are enumerated to explain the increase under Sháh Jahán.[1]

1.	Dehli	1,00,00,00,000	*dáms.*
2.	Agrah	90,00,00,000	,,
3.	Láhor	90,00,00,000	,,
4.	Ajmír	60,00,00,000	,,
5.	Daulatábád	55,00,00,000	,,
6.	Berár	55,00,00,000	,,
7.	Ahmadábád	53,00,00,000	,,
8.	Bengal	50,00,00,000	,,
9.	Allahábád	40,00,00,000	,,
10.	Bihár	40,00,00,000	,,
11.	Málwah	40,00,00,000	,,
12.	Khandés	40,00,00,000	,,
13.	Oude	30,00,00,000	,,
14.	Telingánah	30,00,00,000	,,
15.	Multán	28,00,00,000	,,
16.	Orissa	20,00,00,000	,,
17.	Kábul	16,00,00,000	,,
18.	Kashmír	15,00,00,000	,,
19.	Ṭaṭah	8,00,00,000	,,
20.	Balkh	8,00,00,000	,,
21.	Kandahár	6,00,00,000	,,
22.	Badakhshán	4,00,00,000	,,
23.	Baglánah	2,00,00,000	,,
		8,80,00,00,000	,,

Or at $\frac{1}{20}$ per rupee, 44,00,00,000 rupees, £44,000,000.

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[1] This is avowedly a summary average, and not an absolute or formal return; but it is fully trustworthy, as the alternative rate at the commencement of the reign shows that the author (writing in the twenty-first year) had access to official documents for both periods.—Calcutta Persian text, ii. 710.

III. "Ce que nous avons dit jusqu'icy, est un préjugé favorable pour rendre croïable ce que nous allons dire. Sans doute on ne sera plus surpris des immenses revenus que le Mogol recueille de ses Etats. En voici la liste tirée des archives de l'Empire. L'état du produit de ce grand Domaine, que l'Empereur possède lui seul dans toute l'étenduë de sa Souveraineté, étoit, en l'année 1697, tel que nous l'allons représenter. Pour en avoir l'intelligence, il faut supposer deux choses. Premièrement, que tous les Roïaumes de l'Empire se divisent en *Sarcas*, qui veut dire, *provinces;* que les *Sarcas* se divisent encore en *Parganas*, c'est-a-dire, en *Gouvernemens dans l'étenduë d'une Province*. Ce sont, à proprement parler, des sou-fermes. Secondement, il faut supposer, que selon la manière de compter dans l'Indoustan, un *carol* vaut cent *laqs*, c'est-a-dire, dix millions; & qu'un *laq* vaut cent mille *roupies*: Enfin que les *roupies* valent à peu près *trente sols*, monnoye de France. Le Roïaume de Dely a dans son Gouvernement huit Sarcas, & deux cens vingt Parganas, qui rendent *un carol, vingtcinq laqs & cinquante mille roupies* (1,25,50,000 rupees). Le Roïaume d'Agra compte dans son enceinte quatorze Sarcas, & deux cens soixante & dix-huit Parganas. Ils rendent à l'Empereur, *deux carols, vingt-deux laqs & trois mille cinq cens cinquante roupies* (2,22,03,550 rupees). On trouve dans l'étenduë du Roïaume de Lahor, cinq Sarcas, & trois cens quatorze Parganas, qui rendent *deux carols, trente-trois laqs & cinq mille roupies* (2,33,05,000 rupees): Le Roïaume d'Asmir, ses Sarcas & Parganas païent, *deux carols, dix-neuf laqs & deux roupies* (2,19,00,002 rupees). Celui de Guzuratte, qui dans son enceinte renferme neuf Sarcars & dix-neuf Parganas, donne à l'Empereur *deux carols, trente-trois laqs & quatre-vingt quinze mille roupies* (2,33,95,000 rupees). Le Roïaume de Malua, divisé en onze Sarcas & en deux cens cinquante petits Parganas, ne rend que *quatre-vingt dix-neuf laqs, six mille deux cens cinquante roupies* (99,06,250 rupées). On compte dans le Roïaume de Bear huit Sarcas & deux cens quarante-cinq petits Parganas. L'Empereur en tire *un carol, vingt-&-un laqs & cinquante mille roupies* (1,21,50,000 rupees). Les quatorze Sarcas partagez en quatre-vingt seize Parganas du Roïaume de Multan, ne donnent à l'Empereur que *cinquante laqs & vingt-cinq mille roupies* (50,25,000 rupees). Le Roïaume de

Cabul, divisé en trente-cinq Parganas, ne rend que *trente-deux laqs, & sept mille deux cens cinquante roupies* (32,07,250 rupees). Le Roïaume de Tata paye *soixante laqs, & deux mille roupies* (60,02,000 rupees); & celui de Bacar, seulement *vingt-quatre laqs* (24,00,000 rupees). Dans de Roïaume d'Urecha, quoiqu'on compte onze Sarcas & un assez grand nombre de Parganas, on ne paye que *cinquante-sept laqs, & sept mille cinq cens roupies* (57,07,500 rupees). Les quarante-six Parganas du Roïaume Cachemire, ne rendent que *trente-cinq laqs, & cinq mille roupies* (35,05,000 rupees). Le Roïaume d'Illavas avec ses dépendances rend *soixante & dix-sept laqs, & trente-huit mille roupies* (77,38,000 rupees). Le Roïaume de Decan, qu'on divise en huit Sarcas & en soixante & dix-neuf Parganas, païe *un carol, soixante-&-deux laqs, & quatre mille sept cens cinquante roupies* (1,62,04,750 rupees). Au Roïaume de Barar, on compte dix Sarcas & cent quatre-vingt-onze petits Parganas. L'Empereur en tire *un carol, cinquante-huit laqs, & sept mille cinq cens roupies* (1,58,07,500 rupees). Le grande province de Candis, que nous mettons icy sur le pied des Roïaumes, rend au Mogol *un carol, onze laqs & cinq mille roupies* (1,11,05,000 rupees). Le Roïaume de Baglana a quarante-trois Parganas. L'Empereur en tire *soixante-&-huit laqs, & quatre-vingt-cinq mille roupies* (68,85,000 rupees). On ne paye au Roïaume de Nande que *soixante-&-douze laqs* (72,00,000 rupees). Dans celui de Bengale on donne à l'Empereur *quatre carols* (4,00,00,000 rupees). Le Roïaume d'Ugen rend *deux carols* (2,00,00,000 rupees). Celui de Ragemahal *un carol, & cinquante mille roupies* (1,00,50,000 rupees). L'Empereur exige du Roïaume de Visapour & d'une partie de la Province de Carnatte *cinq carols* (5,00,00,000 rupees). Enfin le Roïaume de Golconde & une autre partie de Carnatte rend aussi *cinq carols* (5,00,00,000 rupees). Le tout supputé fait *trois cens quatre-vingt-sept millions de roupies & cent quatre-vingt-quatorze mille* (38,71,94,000 rupees, or £38,719,400). Ainsi à prendre les roupies des Indes pour trente sols ou environ de nôtre monnoye de France, le Domaine de l'Empereur Mogol lui produit tous les ans, *cinq cens quatre-vingt millions, sept cens quatre-vingt onze mille livres.* Outre ces revenus fixes du Domaine, qu'on tire seulement des fruits de la terre, le casuel de l'Empire est une autre source de richesses pour l'Empereur. 1°. On exige tous les ans un tribut par tête de tous les Indiens idolâtres. Comme la mort, les voyages, & les fuites de ces anciens habitans de l'Indoustan, en rendent le nombre incertain, on le diminuë beaucoup à l'Empereur. Les gouverneurs profitent de leur déguisément. 2°. Toutes les marchandises, que les Négocians Idolâtres font transporter, payent aux Doüannes cinq pour cent de leur valeur Oramgzeb a exempté les Mahométans de ces sortes d'impots. 3°. Le blanchissage de cette multitude infinie de toiles qu'on travaille aux Indes, est encore la matière d'un tribut. 4°. La mine de diamans paye à l'Empereur une grosse somme. Il exige pour lui les plus beaux & les plus parfaits ; c'est-à-dire tous ceux qui sont au-dessus de *trois huit.* 5°. Les ports de mer, & particulièrement ceux de Sindi, de Barocha, de Suratte, & de Cambaye, sont taxez à de grosses sommes. Suratte seul rend ordinairement *trente laqs* pour les droits d'entrées, & *onze laqs* pour le profit des monnoyes qu'on y fait battre. 6°. Toute la côte de Coromandel, et les Ports situez sur les bords du Gange, produisent de gros revenus au Souverain. 7°. Ce qui les augmente infiniment c'est l'hêritage qu'il perçoit universellement de tous ses Sujets Mahométans qui sont à sa solde ; tous les meubles, tout l'argent, & tous les effets de celui qui meurt, appertiennent de droit à l'Empereur. Par là les femmes des Governeurs de Provinces & des Généraux d'armées, sont souvent réduites à une pension modique, & leurs enfans, s'ils sont sans mérite, sont réduits à la mendicite. 8°. Les tributs des Rajas sont assez considérables, pour tenir place parmi les principaux revenus du Mogol. Tout ce casuel de l'Empire, égale, à peu près, ou surpasse même les immenses richesses que l'Empereur perçoit des seuls fonds de terre de son Domaine. On est étonné sans doute d'une si prodigieuse opulence ; mais il faut considérer que tant de richesses n'entre dans les trésors du Mogol, que pour en sortir tous les ans, du moins en partie, & pour couler une autre fois sur ses terres. La moitié de l'Empire subsiste par les libéralitez du Prince, ou du moins elle est à ses gages. Outre ce grande nombre d'Officiers & de Soldats qui ne vivent que de la paye, tous les Paisans de la campagne, qui ne labourent que pour le Souverain, sont nourris à ses frais, & presque tous les Artisans des villes, qu'on fait travailler pour le Mogol, sont païez du Trésor

Impérial. On conjecture assez quelle est la dépendance des Sujets, & par conséquent quelle est leur déférence pour leur Maître.

IV. "Memoire oublié à inserer dans mon premier Ouvrage pour perfectionner la Carte de l'Indoustan, et savoir les Revenus du Grand Mogol."

1. Dehli … … … … … …	1,95,25,000
2. Agra … … … … … …	2,52,25,000
3. Láhor … … … … … …	2,46,95,000
4. Hasmir[1] … … … …	2,19,70,000
5. Gujarát (Ahmadabád) …	1,33,95,000
6. Kandahar[2] … … … … …	19,92,500
7. Málwah … … … …	91,62,500
8. Patna or Bihár … … …	95,80,000
9. Allahábád … … … …	94,70,000
10. Oude … … … … … …	68,30,000
11. Multán … … … …	1,18,40,500
12. "Jagannat" … … …	72,70,000
13. Kashmír … … … …	3,50,000
14. Kábul … … … … …	32,72,500
15. Tata … … … … … …	23,20,000
16. Aurangábád … … …	1,72,27,500
17. "Varada" … … … … …	1,58,75,000
18. Khandés … … … … …	1,85,50,000
19. Tilingana[3] … … … …	68,85,000
20. Bagnala[4] … … … …	5,00,000
	Rs. 22,59,14,500 or £22,591,450.

—Bernier's Voyages, Amsterdam, 1724, vol. ii., p. 354.

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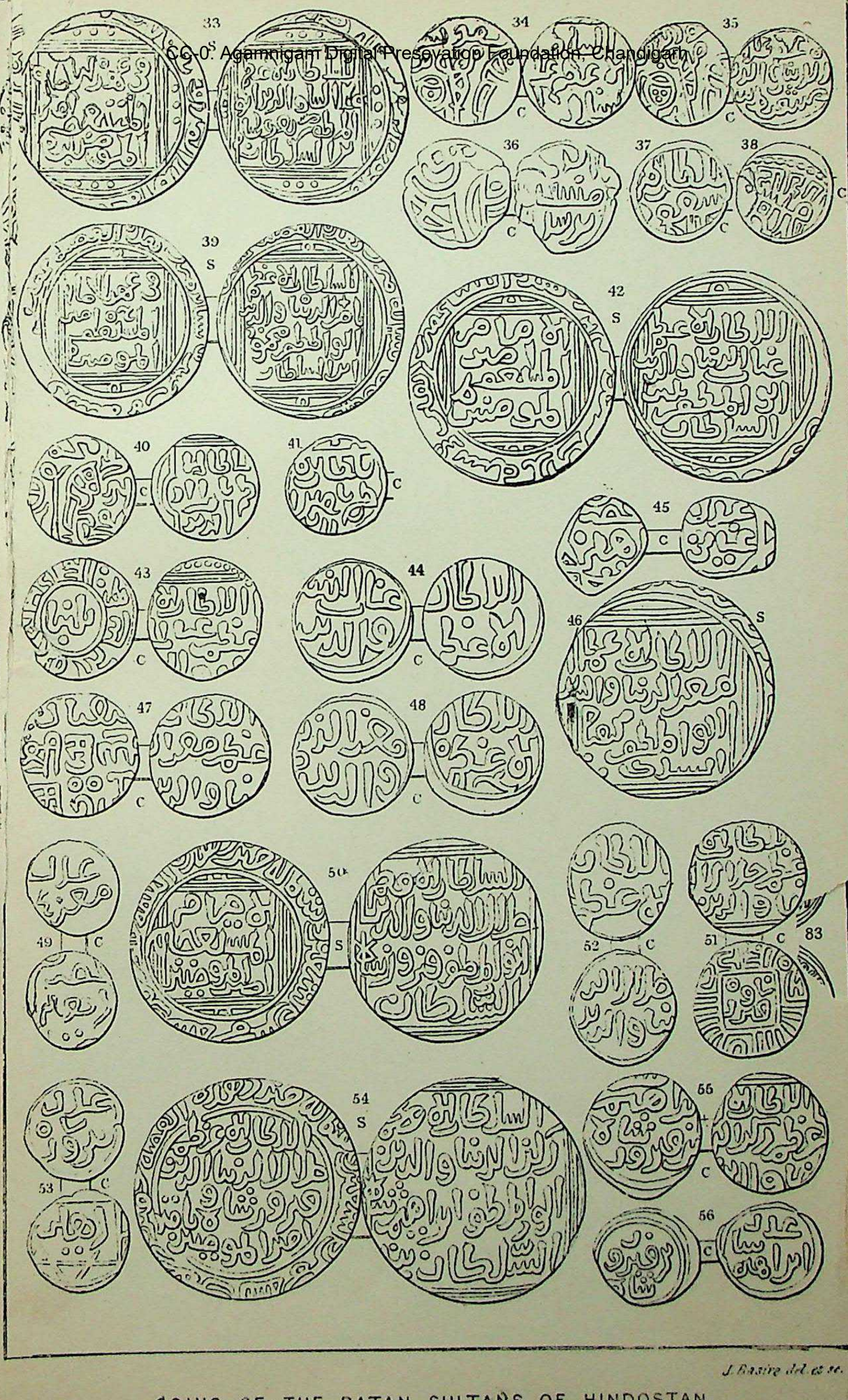
[1] Qui appartient a un Raja, donne au roi de tribut, etc.

[2] Chiefly under Persia; Pergunnahs remaining to India pay as above.

[3] Talengand, qui confine au Royaume de Golkonda du côté de Massipatan, a quarante-trois Pragnas."

[4] Bagnala qui confine aux terres des Portugais et aux montagnes de Sevagí, ce Raja qui a saccagé Sourate, a deux Serkars, huit Pragnas."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COINS OF THE PATAN SULTANS OF HINDOSTAN.

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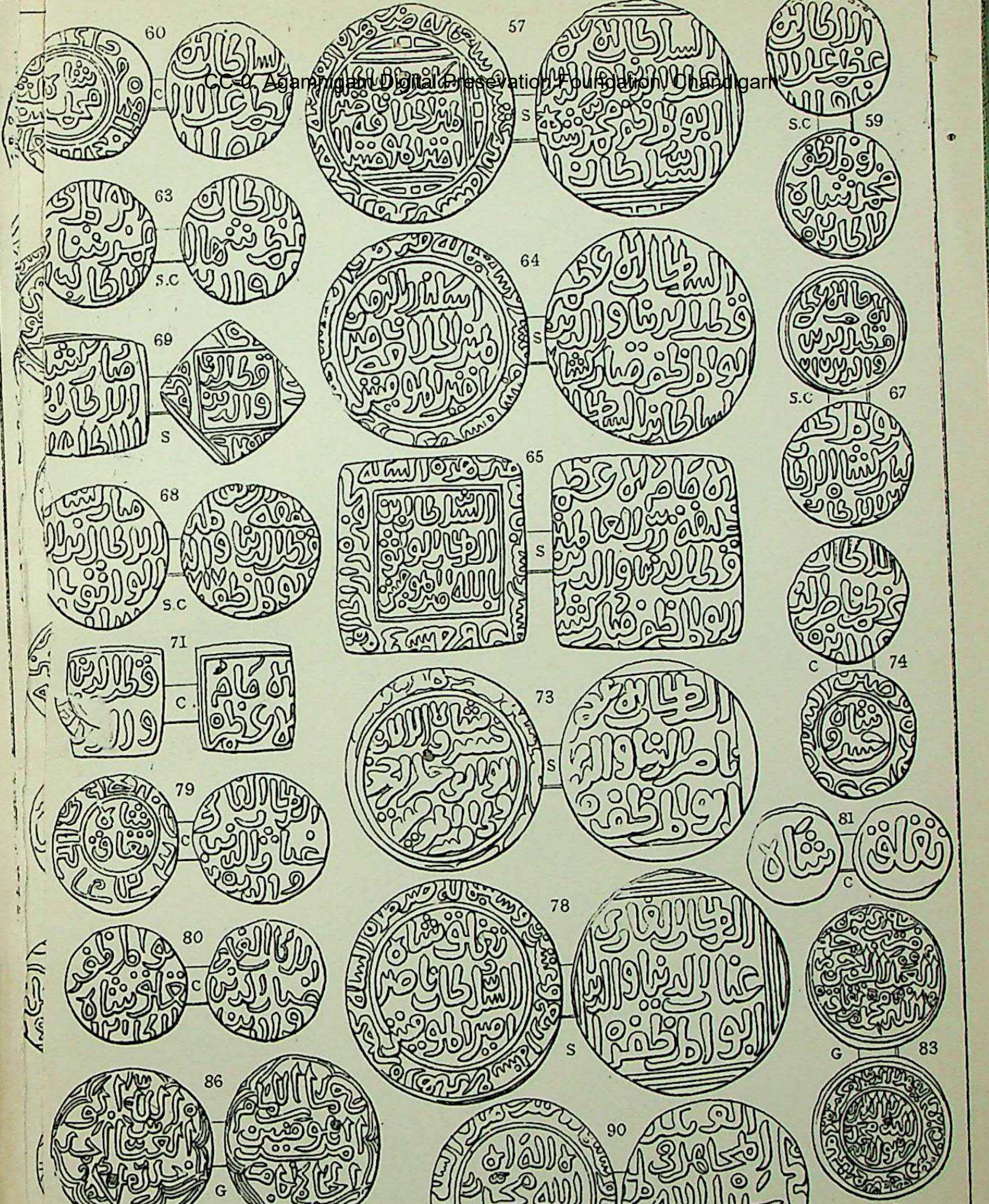
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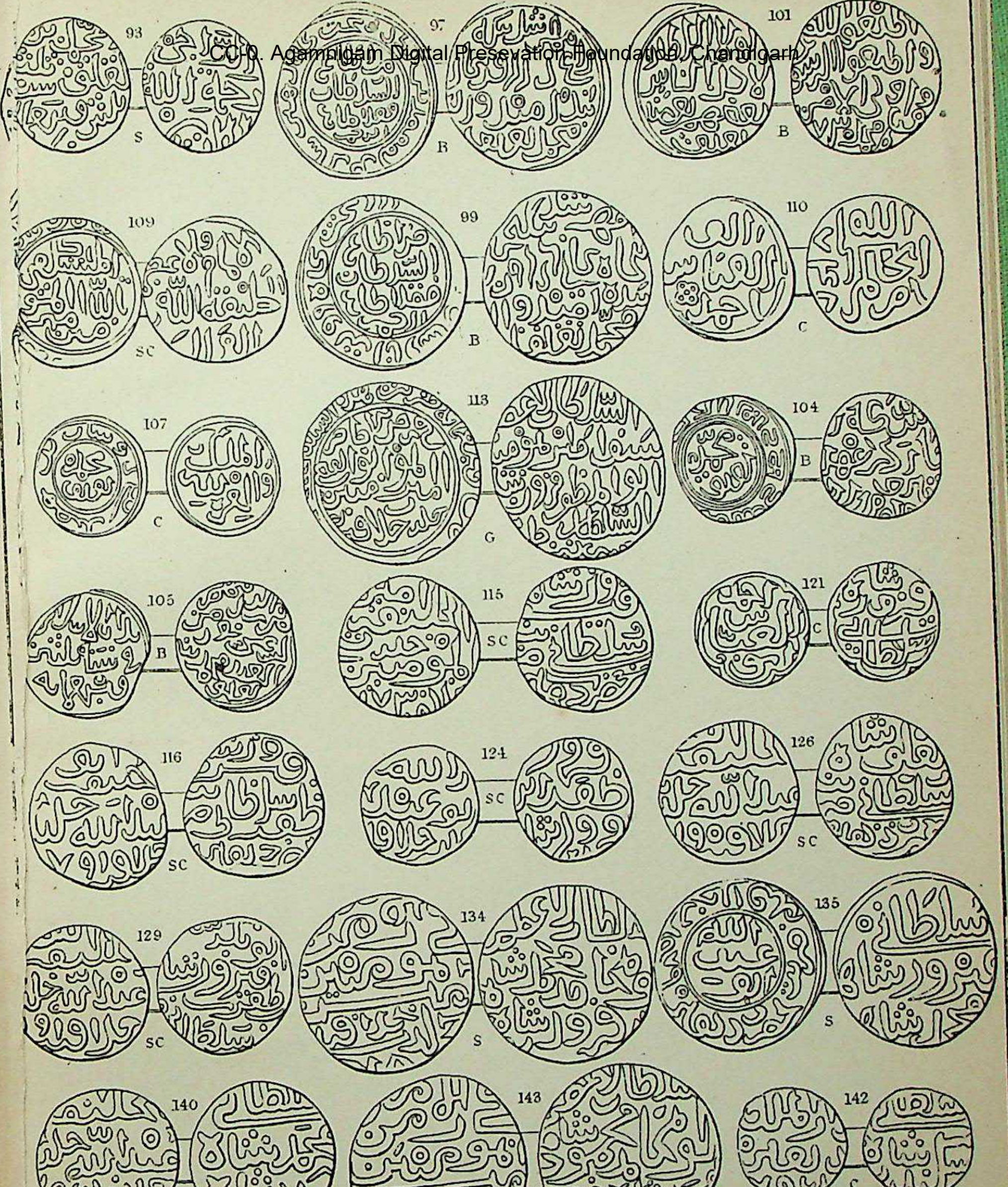
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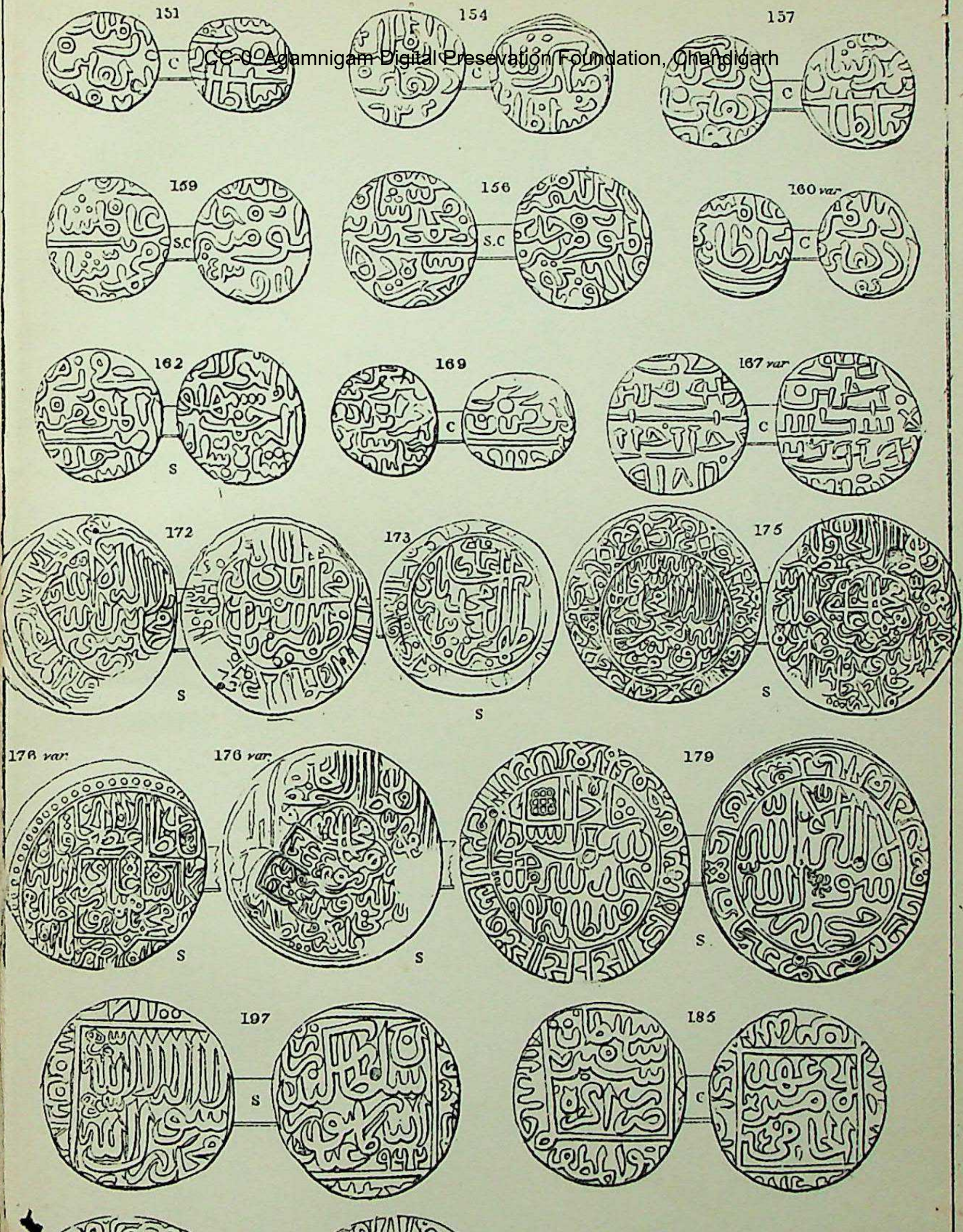
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COINS OF THE PATAN SULTANS OF HINDOSTAN

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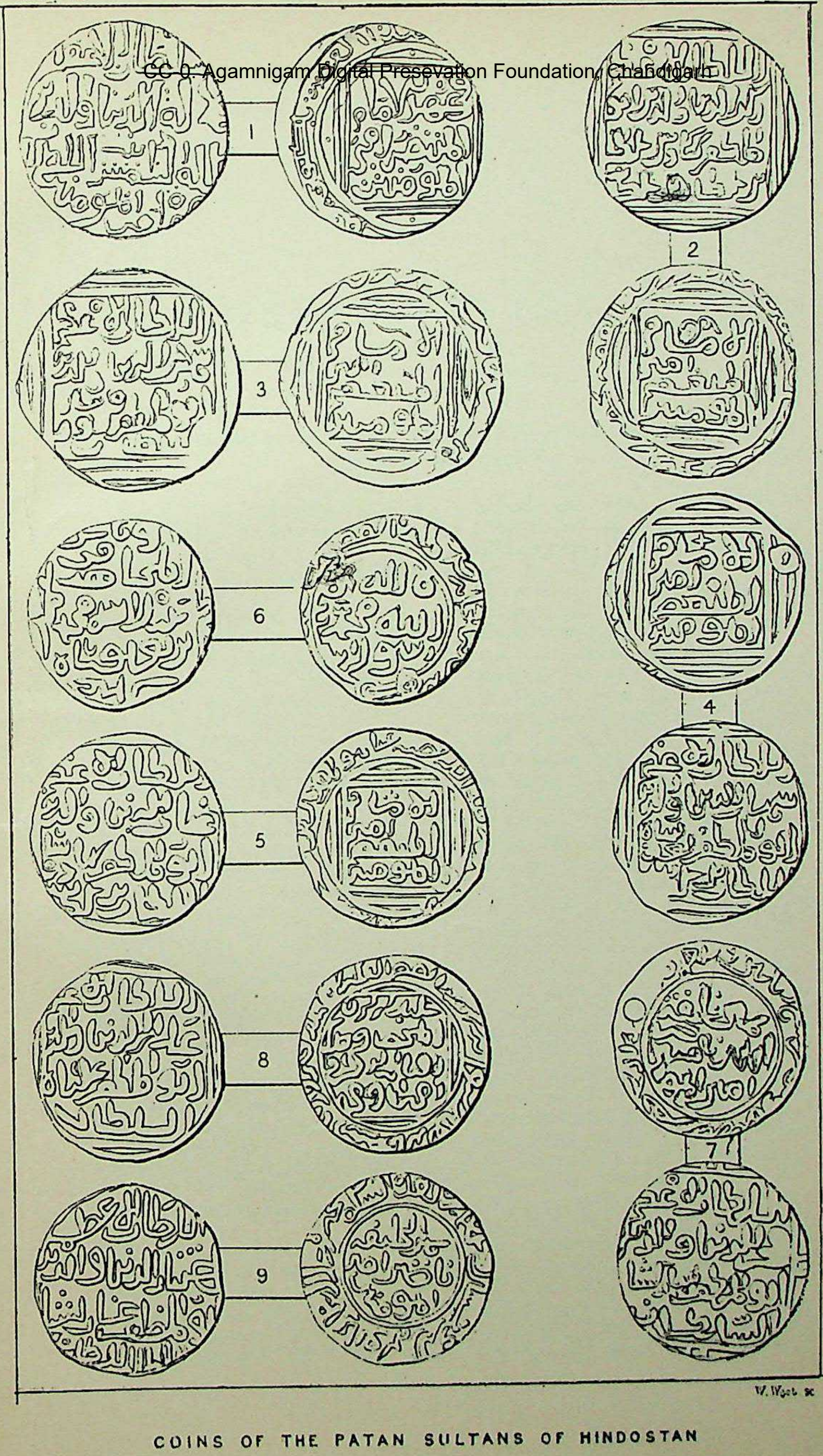

W. West sc

COINS OF THE PATAN SULTANS OF HINDOSTAN

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⁂ Where the letter *n* occurs after the pages, it signifies that the reference is to a note in the page specified.

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THE REVENUE RESOURCES OF THE MUGHAL EMPIRE IN INDIA

By

EDWARD THOMAS

PREFACE.

The subjoined compilation embraces much new matter, which was necessarily omitted from the brief Appendix on the Revenues of the Mughals, inserted in my late work on "The Pathán Kings of Dehli."

The growing interest of the subject, and the surprise expressed at the amounts realized at these periods, have induced me to scrutinize more fully the available data, and to present them in the amplified form of a Supplement to the "Chronicles" of the race, whose defeat secured the dominion of the Mughal.

London,
November, 1871.

REVENUES OF THE MUGHAL EMPIRE.

FÍRÚZ SHÁH'S REVENUES.

I HAVE had occasion to advert in the pages of "The Chronicles of the Pathán Kings of Dehli," to the revenues of India under Akbar, in elucidation of the State resources of his predecessors. As much difficulty has hitherto been felt in the definition of values, even where figures were unassailable, I revert to the subject as an appropriate sequel to Akbar's monetary system, in order to exhibit more fully, by absolute numismatic data, the intrinsic amount of the taxes imposed. And, further, in consideration of the interest at present attaching to the question of British Indian finance, I have taken advantage of this opportunity to extend my previous notice to an examination of the revenues of the later Mughal monarchs, so as to place before the public a progressive series of Imperial balance sheets extending up to 1707 A.D., when our own countrymen began to appear in force upon the Húghli, when Job Charnock, "the father of Calcutta," was buried in his own city (1692), and the foundation of "Fort William, in Bengal," (1700), foreshadowed the reduction of Agrah, Dehli, and Láhor to provincial capitals.

Before entering upon the details of Akbar's revenue, it may be as well to dispose of the earlier returns of Fírúz Sháh and Bábar, which in their modest totals only confuse the sequence of the Mughal lists, and in reality have little or no bearing upon the State resources of the later periods, which were derived from so much more extended an empire. Fírúz Sháh's revenue in A.D. 1351–1388 is fixed at £6,850,000, and that of Bábar in A.D. 1526–1530 at £2,600,000.[1]

The contrast of the relatively large income of Fírúz Sháh, with his avowedly narrowed boundaries, would naturally seem to conflict with the reduced total confessed to by Bábar, who boasted of so much greater a breadth of territory; but these difficulties are susceptible of various simple explanations. In Fírúz Sháh's forty years of undisturbed repose, the country was positively full to overflowing of the precious metals, which had been uniformly attracted towards the capital from various causes for nearly a century previously. The bullion resources of the metropolitan provinces may be tested by the multitude of the extant specimens of the gold and silver coinages of the previous reigns, and the confessed facility with which millions might be accumulated by officials of no very high degree. The whole land was otherwise teeming with material wealth, and was administered by Hindú *vazírs* and other home-taught men, who realized every fraction that the State could claim.

Far different were the circumstances which Bábar's limited tenure of his straggling conquests presented. Tímúr had already effectually ruined the land through which his plundering hordes had passed—what his followers could not carry away they destroyed; and while the distant provinces retained their metallic stores, the old capital and all around it was impoverished to desolation; so that when the prestige of Dehli re-asserted itself under Buhlól Lódi, he was forced to resort to the indigenous copper mines for a new currency

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[1] See "Chronicles of the Pathán Kings," p. 272, note (the figures for Fírúz's revenues in Sir H. Elliot's Historians, vol. iii. p. 288, are partially corrected at p. 346 of the same volume, where the *written* sum is 6,85,00,000 *tankahs*). Bábar's returns are given at p. 388 of my work.

("Chronicles," p. 361); and though public affairs and national prosperity improved under his son Sikandar, the standard coin was only raised to something like $\frac{1}{10}$ silver to the copper basis, which, however, secured a more portable piece, and a more creditable value, in a currency which found ready acceptance with races who had already been educated in the theory of mixed metals. The substantial development of Hindústán under Ibrahím, the son of Sikandar, was absolutely unprecedented. Cheapness and plenty became fabulous even to the native mind, but this very prosperity of the people reduced, *pari passu*, the income of the king, which was derived directly from the produce of the land, his dues being payable in kind; so that when corn was cheap the money value of his revenues declined in nearly equal proportion.[1] And thus it came about that when Bábar examined the accumulated treasures of the house of Lodi, on the capture of Agrah, he found but little beyond the current copper coinage, leavened, as it was, with a small modicum of silver.

The statistical returns of Bábar's time were clearly based upon the old rent-rolls of that unacknowledged contributor to the efficiency of all later Indian revenue systems, Sikandar bin Buhlól. A single subdued confession in Bábar's table[2] suffices to prove this, and simultaneously with the retention of these State ledgers the interlopers clearly accepted the official method of reckoning in Sikandari Tankahs, which numismatically speaking, must have been almost the only coins available at the period, the profuse issue of which may be tested by the multitude of the pieces still in existence, and the completeness of the series of dates spreading over twenty-six continuous years of Sikandar's reign, already cited at page 366 of the "Chronicles."

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[1] It was with a view to remedy this state of things that Akbar introduced his *ten* years' settlement, the germ of that pernicious measure, Lord Cornwallis's notable Perpetual Settlement. Akbar's intentions were equitable, and, to his perceptions, the enforced pact as between king and subject left little to be objected to; but the uniformity it was desired to promote was dependent upon higher powers, and the Indian climate could not be made a party to the treaty. Hence, in bad seasons, the arrangement worked harshly against the poorer husbandmen, and threw them more and more into the hands of usurers, whose lawful Oriental rate of interest was enough to crush far more thrifty cultivators than the ordinary Indian *Raiyat*. The *ten* years' settlement itself was based upon the average returns of the ten preceding harvests, from the fifteenth to the twenty-fourth year (inclusive) of Akbar's reign (Gladwin, i. p. 366).

[2] No. 5, "Méwát, not included in Sikandar's revenue roll" (Chronicles, p. 390).

But perhaps the most simple way of reconciling the striking discrepancy between the two sums assigned severally as the Imperial dues under Fírúz and Bábar, would be to suppose that the comparatively large amount of the revenue of the former monarch comprehended within its terms income from all sources, while the reduced estimate of Bábar's chronicler may be held to refer to the State demand upon the land alone, which the conqueror was able directly to enforce from the recorded assessments of the previous reign. The incidental statements of Fírúz Sháh's special biographer, quoted at p. 272, give countenance to such an inference, especially in the item of the £300,000 of vexatious taxes abandoned by Fírúz in A.H. 777 (A.D. 1375-6),[1] and the general terms in which the total income is adverted to.

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[1] It is seldom we find an Oriental potentate testifying, under his own hand, to the iniquities of no less than twenty-four taxes he had previously tacitly sanctioned, and whose abolition he not only frankly proclaims in his own autobiography, but whose perpetual extinction was supposed to be secured by the display of this same royal manifesto on the surface of the walls of the Mosque he had founded for the good of his own soul, in his new capital on the banks of the Jumna ("Chronicles," p. 289, note 2); and yet so readily did the authorities fall back upon those ancient imposts, that we find many of the same items entered in the new relinquishment of oppressive demands under Akbar (pp. 17-19, *infrà*). The list of curious cesses given by Fírúz Sháh, so suggestive of a primitive stage of civilization, is here subjoined, together with the far more important declaration.

AKBAR'S REVENUES.

The earliest and probably the most competent and trustworthy author who furnishes any return of Akbar's revenue is Nizám-ud-dín Ahmad, a, so to say, practised accountant,

on the part of the reigning monarch, of the specific taxes he was content to recognize as the Royal demand, in full, against all classes of his subjects.

LIST OF IMPOSTS PROFESSEDLY ABOLISHED BY FÍRÚZ SHÁH IN A.D. 1375.

1.	مندوي برگ	Market dues.
2.	دلالت بازارها	Brokerage. (No. 35 of Akbar's list, p. 19.)
3.	جزاري	Slaughter-houses. (12 *jitals* for every ox, etc. No. 22 of Akbar's list.)
4.	اميري طرب	Leaders of music and dancing. (Nautches?)
5.	گلفروشي	Perfumery.
6.	تنبول "حرينه"	Betel.
7.	چنگي غله	Octroi (*lit.* handfuls of grain taken, in kind, as town dues), a tax still wisely conceded to the home instincts of our native townships in the Punjáb.
8.	كتابي	Books.
9.	نيلكري	Indigo. (Dyes, No. 37?)
10.	ماهي فروشي	Fish. (No. 36.)
11.	ندافي	Cotton-cleaning.
12.	صابونكري	Soap-manufacture.
13.	ريسمان فروشي	Silk.
14.	روغن كري	*Ghi* (clarified butter). (No. 18.)
15.	نخود بريان	Parched grain.
16.	ته بازاري	Ground rent of stalls in the market. (ته fold, stratum.)
17.	حهبه [چنپه	for *Chháp*, synonymous with *Chhák*, a stamp set upon stacks, under *Batái* tenures].
18.	قمارخانه	Gambling-houses. (No. 24.)
19.	دادبنكي	(वणिक) Fees to heads of trades (Chaudharís).
20.	كوتوالي	Fees to Kotwáls. (No. 8.)

and a most experienced revenue administrator, who describes a condition of things of which he had the fullest means of official knowledge.[1] I repeat the substance, and enlarge the

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21. احتسابي Inspectors of markets.
22. كرهي (Sansk. गृह, Hind. घर) House tax.
23. چرائي Pasture dues.
24. مصادرات Fines and amercements.

TAXES SPECIALLY AUTHORIZED BY FÍRÚZ ON HIS OWN INTERPRETATION OF THE KURÁN.

1. خراج اراضي عشور $\frac{1}{10}$ on cultivated land.
2. زكوة Alms, or a "poor rate, the portion or amount of property that is given therefrom, as the due of God, to the poor." Usually assessed at $\frac{1}{40}$, or 2½ per cent. (Lane.)
3. جزيهٔ هنود Capitation tax on Hindús (three grades, @ 40, 20, and 10 *tankahs*).
4. تَرِكَّهٌ) تركات Res relicta), the *Ládwáris mál* of the present day. The *Wala Imámat* of the Western interpreters, *i.e.* "Inheritance of dominion," or heritage of the head of the State.
5. خمس غنايم ومعادن $\frac{1}{5}$ of all spoils and produce of mines.

—From the Persian MS. فتوحات فيروزشاهي.

Shams-i-Siráj 'Afíf, Fírúz's especial biographer, also adverts to this abolition of oppressive taxes; he notices as specially objectionable—1st. The system of demanding extra fees, entitled *Dángána* (or one *dáng* in the *tankah*), in addition to the authorized *Zakát*, exacted on the entry of merchandize into towns. 2nd. The مشتغل *Mushtaghal* or كرا زمين *Kirá-i-zamín*, "ground rent" (?) on the shops and houses of Dehli, which amounted to as much as 1,50,000 *tankahs* per annum. 3rd. The جزاري mentioned in Fírúz Sháh's list (No. 3). 4th. The روزي *Rozi*, or one day's labour exacted by the officials from every beast of burden entering the town with merchandize. The author concludes by noticing that this edict of Fírúz Sháh's was proclaimed in his presence, in A.H. 777, and that the consequent loss to the State was estimated at 30,00,000 *tankahs* (£300,000). See Professor Dowson's translation, Elliot's Historians, iii. pp. 363–6, 377; Briggs's Ferishtah, i. p. 463; Ferishtah, Bombay Persian text, i. p. 272.

[1] See "Chronicles," p. 388. This is not the place to enlarge upon the merits of the author of the Tabakát-i Akbari (otherwise known as the Táríkh-i Nizámi). Suffice it to say, that Nizám-ud-dín Ahmad, with his father's rank to recommend

context, of the passage quoted at p. 388 of the "Chronicles," giving his statement of the amount of the current income. Speaking of the country of Hindústán, he proceeds—"Its length from Hindú Kóh, on the borders of Badakhshán, to the country of Orissa, which is on the borders of Bengal, from west to east, is 1680 legal *kos*. Its breadth from Kashmír to the hills of Barújh, which is on the borders of Súrat and Gujarát, is 800 *kos* Iláhi. Another mode is to take the breadth from the hills of Kumáon to the borders of the Dakhan, which amounts to 1000 Iláhi *kos*. . . . At the present time, namely A.H. 1002,[1] Hindústán contains 3200 towns, (including 120 large cities) and 500,000 villages, and yields a revenue of 640,00,00,000 *tankah Murádi*." The writer adds, that as there is no room for the list of cities in this summary, he proposes to give them in full alphabetical order on some future occasion, a task he was never able to fulfil, as he died in the same year.

There can be very little contest about the value of Nizám-ud-dín's pieces designated as "*Tankah Murádi*." They were in effect the old Sikandari Tankah of twenty to the *Silver Tankah* or Rupee, of which numerous proofs have already been adduced.[2] So that the total revenue of the kingdom is here defined as £32,000,000.[3] It is not expressly stated whether

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him, secured, in early life, a position at the Court of Akbar; and in that monarch's twenty-ninth year attained the dignity of *Bakhshi* of Gujarát. The value of his work has been freely testified to by *Budaoni* (a contemporary author of nearly equal credit), in his declaration, that "Nizám-ud-dín Ahmad spent his life in the service of the Emperor Akbar, (and) his history in all that relates to the reign of that Sovereign can be implicitly relied upon." Elliot's Index, p. 204; Morley's Catalogue of the Royal Asiatic Society's MSS., p. 61; Stewart's Catalogue of Tippoo Sultán's Library, p. 11; Col. N. Lees, Journal Royal Asiatic Society, vol. iii., N.S., p. 458.

[1] A.H. 1002 commenced on the 17th of September, 1593.

[2] "Chronicles," pp. 336, 370, 384, 387, 437.

[3] 640,00,00,000÷20 = 32,00,00,000÷10 = £32,000,000.

this sum is the produce of land revenue pure and simple, or the grand total of taxes, cesses and imposts of every description realized for the Imperial exchequer; but the latter seems to be the most reasonable conclusion, more especially as throughout these returns there will be found a closely relative proportion between the land revenue and the total income of the State from all sources, which latter rules more or less equably at double the former.

The Institutes of the Emperor Akbar embody a very complete description of the Indian revenue system, embracing the theory of assessment, methods of collection, and the general practical working of the indigenous scheme as matured by Shír Sháh; together with the tentative reforms introduced by Akbar's own ministers, so effectively completed by that paragon of Hindú *vazírs*, Rája Todar Mall.[1]

In cursorily noticing the leading peculiarities of the Indian land-tax, it may be as well to premise that the context of the Á'ín-i Akbaṛi gives no countenance to the fiction of the State ownership of the soil,[2] the king's demand in no case extends beyond his share of the produce. It is true that an absolute monarch, who could take, with impunity, a subject's head, could with equal licence take that subject's land; but the soil was valueless without the *ascripti glebæ;* and so far from desiring to oust owners or occupiers, the *raiyat* was encouraged in every possible way to become a good cultivator. The king, in effect, was in partnership with the husbandmen of the nation: the more they succeeded in extracting from the earth, the more the Sovereign received as revenue; hence we find the ruling power using all kinds of devices to extend and improve the cultivation, commencing with advances to the needy, premiums upon the use of good seed, and other paternal measures, extending even to the despotic interdiction of the slaughter of "oxen, horses, buffaloes, or camels.".[1]

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[1] Rája Todar Mall (Toral Mall) was not less brave as a soldier, and successful as a commander, than he was efficient as an administrator. His first prominent employment in the latter department was his assessment of Gujarát in the eighteenth year of Akbar's reign. In the twenty-second year he was made *vazír*, and in the twenty-seventh year he introduced his important financial reforms, associated with a complete change of the language in use in the revenue accounts, superseding the indigenous Hindí by the exotic Persian. Todar Mall died in A.H. 998.—Blochmann's Á'ín-i Akbari.

[2] By Muhammadan law, the Sovereign was only entitled to the regular one-fifth of the land taken in war (immovable possessions followed the same law as movable goods); he had, however, the option of taking that *fifth* as divided off land, or in one-fifth of the annual produce of the whole capture.—Sale's Kurán, i. p. 195.

The old system seems to have recognized nothing but payment in kind; and Akbar was so well aware of the advantage of such an arrangement to the agriculturists, that he invariably leaves the option of money payments to them, except in the case of sugar-cane, and such expensive crops, as implied the possession of certain means on the part of the grower, and a power to pay the State dues in cash. There were no less than four methods of estimating and setting apart the regal share of the produce which the occupier might elect to claim—1. The division of the field when sown; 2, an estimate on the standing crops; 3, a rough division by heaps; or 4, a precise division of grain. The introduction of the new settlement, which attempted to fix future payments on an average of the crops of the previous ten years, was calculated to act injuriously against the cultivator, in so far as it made no allowance for bad seasons, so that in extreme cases the poorer agriculturists might positively have to borrow grain to meet the Government dues. With a notoriously improvident race, and money lenders who knew no usury laws, a single failure of the harvest might impoverish a village community for a generation; whereas, under the old system, the State shared the loss, and in famine-years could advance no claim whatever. If, in addition to these drawbacks, we take into consideration the fact that the Imperial demand ordinarily ranged at no less than one-third of the total crop,[1] it may be imagined how readily a confessedly fickle climate might disorganize the most elaborate calculations extending over far longer averages than any given *ten* years. The old system unquestionably insured a larger profit to the State in the long run,[2] and greater ease and comfort to the subject; while the new arrangement, sooner or later, must have involved reductions in the general average to secure uniformity and regularity of realization. No doubt, under the revised law, there were merciful considerations extended to defaulters; it was undesirable to kill the goose that laid the golden eggs; and the king's troops and the usurer alike understood that there were bold hearts and sharp swords in many an aboriginal village. The former were only employed in extreme cases, and the latter often had to risk something dearer than their own money.

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[1] Ibn Khordádbah mentions that the great Hajáj bin Yusaf, acting under the like crude idea, introduced a similar prohibition against the slaughter of oxen, very much to the disgust of the beef-eating population of Irák.—Journal Asiatique, 1865, p. 242.

Abúl Fazl's returns of Akbar's revenues are summarized from his imperfect data in the subjoined table, amounting, with later returns, but with all other deficiencies, to a total of *five arbs,*[1] *sixty-seven krors, sixty-three laks,* 83 *thousand and* 383 *dáms,* a sum not very far removed, with fair allowances for omissions in such imperfect documents,[2] from the speculative correction of *six 'arbs* (6,62,97,55,246), proposed at page 389 of the "Chronicles," an estimate I elsewhere adopt in preference to the tentative figures herein embodied, which were originally deduced simply for the purpose of testing my proposed emendation of Abúl Fazl's text, and which are now retained only for the purpose of instituting comparisons with the provincial statistics of subsequent reigns There is no suspicion of Abúl Fazl's want of faith, even if any motive could be imagined for such a tendency; but it is clear that a comprehensive work like the Áín-i Akbari, a positive gazetteer of all India, must have been compiled from the statistics of various State departments, working with little systematic concert, and its tabulated returns would at all times be liable to correction, as imperfectly brought up to the changes of the day.

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[1] Akbar tells us that in former times the kings of India only took one-sixth of the produce. The rates of other Asiatic countries are specified. Turkey, one-fifth; Turán, one-sixth; Irán, one-tenth.—Áín-i Ạkbari, Gladwin, i. p. 349. (Shír Sháh claimed one-fourth.)

[2] A calculation has lately been made by a trustworthy writer in the *Calcutta Englishman* (August, 26, 1871), that if the province of Orissa had now to pay *in grain*, the Government would receive £1,000,000 instead of the £460,000 they compounded for in silver.

It must be understood, in forming any comparative estimate of Akbar's assessments, that each province had to furnish a State contingent of cavalry and infantry, specified in full detail with other imperial demands, apart from the mere money payments entered in the divisional accounts; so that the country had to support a very large, though probably ineffective, army, over and above its ordinary revenue liabilities. The number of men mustered in this Zamíndári force is reckoned at the very high figure of 4,400,000,[1] in addition to the due proportion of horses and elephants each sub-division was bound to maintain. No reduction is, ostensibly, made in the State demand for the payment of these troops, who are styled بومی *Búmi*, "Landwehr," in contradistinction to the better organized Royal army. If we estimate the cost to the country for this force at the lowest possible figure of two rupees per man (including the purchase and feed of horses and elephants), it amounts of itself to a sum of more than ten millions of pounds, which as a purely speculative estimate might honestly be doubled.

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[1] The *arb* अर्बुद ارب is 1000 millions, or 100 *krors;* the *kror* is 100 *laks,* and the *lak* 100 thousand. Wilson (Sanskrit Dictionary), Shakespeare (Hindustani Dictionary), and Haughton (Bengali Dictionary), alike concur in making the *arb* 100 millions; and the new St. Petersburgh Sanskrit Dictionary follows the same lead. Molesworth, in his Mahrattá Dictionary, however, gives "1000 millions," which the whole series of figures employed by the Muhammadan writers proves to be the correct amount. See also Elliot's Glossary, ii. p. 196.

[2] The majority of these *taḳsím jam'a* statements refer to the fifteenth year of the reign, and probably indicate a much lower revenue than the improved management of the succeeding twenty-five years secured for the State. The incorporation, however, of the returns of the new *ṣúbahs* plainly demonstrates the fact of later additions to the original text.

			DÁMS.	RUPEES.
I.	Allahábád		21,24,27,119	53,10,677
II.	Agrah		[2] 54,62,50,304	1,36,56,257
III.	Oude		20,17,58,172	50,43,954
IV.	Ajmír		[3] 28,61,37,968	71,53,449
V.	Ahmadábád (Gujarát)		43,68,02,301	1,09,20,057
	" "	Port dues	1,62,628	4,065
VI.	Bihár		22,19,19,404	55,47,985
VII.	Bengal		59,84,59,319	1,49,61,482
VIII.	Dehli		60,16,15,555	1,50,40,388
IX.	Kábul[4]	Simple *dáms*	27,27,17,786	
		Converted money (omitting payments in kind)	5,01,23,200	80,71,024
X.	Láhor		55,94,58,423	1,39,86,460

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[1] Áín-i Akbari, text, p. 175; Gladwin's translation, p. 237.

[2] Gladwin has 64 *krors*.

[3] This total is obtained from the Sirkár details. Gladwin's text, p. 105, has only 2,28,41,507 *dáms*.

[4] Otherwise designated as "Ṣúbah Kashmír" (ii. p. 152), "Kábul, cited as the modern capital," (p. 199); in the final *taḳsím jam'a*, p. 107, however, it is described as "Ṣúbah Kábul." Under Sirkár Kandahár (p. 196), there is a full definition of the relative values of the coins, in which the comparative estimates

		DÁMS.	RUPEES.
XI.	Multán	[1] 38,40,30,589	96,00,764
XII.	Málwah	24,06,95,052	60,17,376
	New *Ṣúbahs*		
XIII.	Berár[2] (from the *taḳsím jam'a*)	69,50,44,682	1,73,76,117
XIV.	Khandés[3]	30,25,29,488	75,63,237
XV.	Ahmadnagar (not entered).		
	Tatah	6,62,51,393	16,56,284
			14,19,09,576[4]

Grand total ... ... 5,67,63,83,383 *dáms*, at the rate of 40 *dáms* per rupee= Rs. 14,19,09,584.

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are framed, viz., 18 *dinárs*=1 *tumán*, each local *tumán* being=800 *dáms*. A *note* is attached to the effect that the *tumán* of Khorásán is 30 rupees, and that of Irák 40 rupees.

[1] The Multán return, in the preliminary statement, is 15,14,03,619, both in the Calcutta revised text and in Gladwin's old translation. The above figures exhibit the combined *taḳsím jam'a* or detail apportionment of the revenue of the several districts included in the Ṣúbah, entered in the working or administrative lists.

[2] This return is taken from the detailed statements, pp. 61-68. The returns are clearly imperfect, and filled up with fanciful figures in the lower totals, a fact which contrasts in a marked manner with the precision observed in the minor figures of the revenues of the more definitely settled provinces. The total here obtained, however, does not differ very materially from the summary of local *tankahs* quoted below from another part of the work, though it seems to indicate a later manipulation and elaboration of accounts. "This *ṣúbah* (Berár) contains 13 *sirkárs* divided into 142 *pergunnahs*. The *tankah* of this country is equal to eight of those of Dehli. Originally the amount of revenue was 3½ *krors* of *tankahs*, or 56 *krors* of *dáms*; . . . during the government of Sultán Murád the amount rose to 64,26,03,272 *dáms*."—Áín-i Akbari, Gladwin, ii. p. 74.

[3] The introductory summary of the Ṣúbah of Khandés (p. 66) estimates the revenue at 12,64,762 Berári *tankahs*, at 24 *dáms* the *tankah*, that is to say, at 3,03,54,288 *dáms*; but the distribution list at p. 60, second part, raises the sum total to 1,26,47,062 *tankahs*, or 30,25,29,488 *dáms*. There is clearly an error of figures in the first quotation, which the detailed totals of the 32 *pergunnahs* in themselves suffice to prove, as they mount up in simple addition to the still larger sum of 1,55,46,863 *tankahs*.

[4] There is a slight reduction in this total of 8 rupees, consequent upon the loss of the small fractions of *dáms*, which have been left out of the calculation.

I obtain a curious confirmation of the approximate correctness of these revised figures in a return that has been preserved, fortuitously, amid the more ample specifications of the revenues of Aurangzéb, in a Persian MS. now in the East India Library (No. 1387), which is stated to have been copied in A.H. 1195 (A.D. 1780–1), from documents in the possession of the "Nawáb Vizír," *for* "Mr. Richard Johnson." The work professes to be the "Dastúr al 'Amal of Rája Todar Mall,"[1] but the transcriber's note at the conclusion points merely to the application of his revenue system under Sháh Jahán, Rája Rughonáth dás. The opening passage of this compilation contains two entries of the grand totals of the revenues of Hindústán, the one referring to the enhanced revenues for 21 Ṣúbahs, entered in full in the body of the work, and amounting to 13,80,23,56,030 *dáms*, the other under the heading of صوبجات هندوستان بهشت نشان with its "13 Ṣúbahs and 91 Sirkárs," confines itself to the modest sum of 6,63,29,76,338 *dáms* (Rs. 16,58,24,408= £16,582,440), which probably truly represents an authorized increase in Akbar's income upon the earlier 6,62,97,55,246 *dáms*, already deduced from the amended text of the Áín-i Akbari.

In attempting to fix the fiscal returns of the land at any given epoch, it must, primarily, be recognized that India is, and ever has been, a relatively poor country, depending mainly upon the produce of its soil and the industries of its prolific people. The revenues of India then, as now, followed the type of her own great ant-hills, and were built up of innumerable minute accessions and aggregations. Going back to earlier periods, we find that the whole theory of the Hindú law of taxation proceeded upon the primitive village system—that the elected authority, or *Rája*, should take his portion of all gains, of whatever description local knowledge could reduce into a tangible form. In such a state of society the produce of the land was obvious to the sight, and required but slight check or definition, more especially as it formed but a small proportion of the annual assets of a *quasi*-pastoral township. Hence we find the ruler claiming all manner of odd items, extending to his share of commercial profits, one day in the month of the arms and sinews of men, and descending even to a quota of the grass of the fields and the leaves of trees for the State granary.[1]

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[1] *Dastúr al 'Amals* are difficult to describe, as it is rash to say what they may not contain amid the multifarious instructions to Revenue Officers. They combine occasionally a court guide, a civil list, an army list, a diary of the period, summaries of revenue returns, home and foreign; practical hints about measures, weights, and coins; with itineraries, and all manner of useful and instructive information.

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[1] The Laws of Manu specify the king's taxes in the subjoined terms:—

129. As the leech, the suckling calf, and the bee, take their natural food by little and little, thus must a king draw from his dominions an annual revenue.

130. Of cattle, of gems, of gold and silver, *added each year to the capital stock*, a fiftieth part may be taken by the king; of grain, an eighth part, a sixth, or a twelfth, *according to the difference of the soil and the labour necessary to cultivate it*. [The italics indicate additions by the native commentators.]

131. He may also take a sixth part of the clear annual increase of trees, flesh-meat, honey, clarified butter, perfumes, medical substances, liquids, flowers, roots, and fruit.

132. Of gathered leaves, potherbs, grass, utensils made with leather or cane, earthen pots, and all things made of stone.

In addition to these demands, the king was entitled to graduated taxes on merchandize (127), to be reduced to "a mere trifle" on "petty traffic" (137). And in the case of those "who support themselves by labour," payment of State dues was made in kind, in the form of "a day's work in each month" (138). A source of income seemingly much relied upon was the unclaimed property, more especially that to which there was no heir, which reverted in its entirety to the State (viii. 30); and, lastly, must be reckoned the royalty of half upon "old hoards," treasure trove, and "the precious minerals of the earth" (39). The ferry fees, which are specified in full in other sections of the Law, must also have formed an important item of the royal income.—The Institutes of Manu, C. G. Haughton. London, 1825.

So things went on, seemingly with little essential change, till Akbar made his first move towards fixed returns and money payments; when it is instructive to note that, in accord with the "quarter of wheat," at $3\frac{6}{10}$ pence, and a day's labour at $1\frac{2}{10}$ pence, the revenue assessment of this magnificent empire was made in a coin nearly corresponding with our own halfpenny,[1] a fit and needful concession to the limited means of the cultivators at large, whose small payments or estimates in kind would have been lost or obscured in the ordinary fractions of a rupee; so that, in the length and breadth of the land, no less than 15,360,000,000 pieces of money, or their equivalent value, had to be haggled over before the Mughal's treasury was filled.

Akbar claims to have abolished many of these vexatious taxes, which it is admitted "used to equal the quit-rent of Hindústán."[2] A full enumeration of the cesses in question is given in the table below, and among other State demands thus abandoned figures the especially Muhammadan *Jiziah*, or Poll-tax (see "Chronicles," note 5, p. 272), levied upon unbelievers. This, in effect, constituted a rough species of Income-tax, being graduated according to the means of the different classes of the Hindú community. It may be said to have been invidious, in the one sense; but it was simple, easily collected, and had none of the odious inquisitorial adjuncts of the British Income-tax. The great objection, however, to the *Jizíah* was the irregularity with which it was enforced, according to the momentary temper or religious phase of thought of the ruler for the time being. It had been pushed to an extreme, in an excess of zeal, by Fírúz Sháh, who was otherwise so fully *en rapport* with the wants and ideas of his people; and after varying fortunes under succeeding princes, it was denounced by Akbar in his anti-Muhammadan infatuation; while Aurangzéb again revived it, in full, in the most persecuting spirit of Islám.

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[1] The £32,000,000 noticed by Nizám-ud-dín Ahmad at p. 7 multiplied by 480, or the number of halfpence in the £ sterling. The *dám* was in effect 2·4 farthings (see p. 430) if calculated at the ordinary rate of 2*s*. per rupee; but, at 2*s*. 6*d*. per rupee, the *dám* would be equivalent to three farthings.

[2] Gladwin, i. p. 359. The original passage runs—وبیشتر وجوهات که برابر
محصول هندوستان بود بایزد شکرانه بخشایش یافت

—Calcutta text, p. 301.

LIST OF TAXES REMITTED OR REDUCED BY AKBAR.[1]

1. جزيه *Jizíah*, Poll-tax.
   Class A, at 40 rupees; B, 20 rupees; C, 10 rupees. [This is Fírúz Sháh's rate, "Chronicles," p. 435. There is no positive return in the Áín-i Akbari.]
2. ميربحري *Mírbaḥri*, Port-dues and Ferry-fees.
   [Sea Customs reduced to 2½ per cent., Tonnage dues on River navigation fixed at "1 rupee per *kos* per 1000 *mans*," (or, roughly, 2 shillings per 2½ miles for every 24·5 tons.) Tax on Ferries graduated at from 10 *dáms* for an elephant to 1/16 of a *dám* for the lowest beast of burthen.]
3. كر *Kar* [S. कार], Tax upon pilgrims and religious assemblages.
   [An avowedly expansive demand, at the option of the ruling power.]
4. گاو شماري *Gáu shumári*, Tax on cattle.
5. سر درختي *Sar darakhti*, Tax on trees.
6. پيشكش *Peshkash*, Thank-offerings on appointments.
7. فروق و اقسام پيشه *Farúḳ wa Aḳsám-i-peshah*, Trade licences.
8. داروغگانه *Dáróghgánah*, Fees to Dárógháṣ
9. تحصيلداري *Tahsíldári*, Fees to Tehsíldárs.
10. فوطه داري *Foṭah dári*, Fees to Treasurer

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[1] Áín-i Akbari, Calcutta Persian Text, p. 301; Gladwin's Translation, i. p. 359.

11. سلامي *Salámi*, Fees to Landlords.
[Like many other local terms, liable to cover very irregular exactions.]

12. وجه كرايه *Wajh kiráyah*, Fees on hiring or letting.

13. خريطه *Kharítah*, Fees for bags on cash payments.

14. صرافي *Ṣarráfi*, Fees on verification of coins.

حاصل بازار *Háṣil-i-bázár*, MARKET DUES on the sale of—

15. نخّاس *Nakhkhás*, Cattle.

16. سن *San*, Hemp.

17. كنبل *Kambal*, Blankets.

18. روغن *Róghan*, Ghí (clarified butter).

19. ادهوڙي *Adhúṛi*, Hides.

20. كيّالي *Kaiyáli*, Rough estimate measurements
[or appraisements, *in opposition to*]

21. وزاني *Wazáni*, *Absolute* weighments.

22. قصّابي *Ḳaṣṣábi*, Slaughtering (animals).

23. دبّاغي *Dabbághi*, Tanning.

24. قماربازي *Kimár bázi*, Gambling (with dice).

25. قنلغه ساوري [كتلا سازي] Sawing planks, Timber-yards.

26. راهداري *Ráh dári*, Transit duties.

27. پگ *Pag*,[1] "A turband."
[Fees on investiture, installation, etc.]

28. دودي *Dúdi*, "Smoke," hearth tax.

29. رسم خانه *Rasm khánah*, Sale of houses.
[Payable both by buyer and seller.]

30. نمكي *Nimaki*, Manufacture of salt.

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[1] One of the *Chaubáchha* or four *báchhs* (assessments) of the Dehli territory. 1. *Pág*. 2. *Tág*, "the cloth worn round a child's waist." 3. *Kúḍi* or *Korí*, "a hearth." 4. *Púnchhi*, "a tail," "cattle."—Wilson's Glossary. Elliot's Glossary, i. p. 46, notices other minor cesses under *Palkaṭi*, i.e. *Pala* or *Jharberi*, "cuttings;" *Ḍaránti*, "a sickle;" *Khurpa*, "a grass trowel," or primitive hand-spud.

31.	بلكتي	*Bạlkaṭi*, Tax exacted on the commencement of the harvest. [*Bál káṭi*, "cutting ears of corn."]
32.	پتي نمد	*Pati namad*, Coarse felts (Numdás).
33.	چونه كري	*Chúnah kari*, Manufacture of lime.
34.	خمّاري	*Khammári*, Sale of intoxicating liquors.
35.	دلالي	*Daláli*, Brokerage.
36.	ماهي گيري	*Máhi Girí*, Fishing.
37.	حاصل درخت آل	*Haṣil drakht-i-ál*, Dye (*Morinda citrifolia*).
38.	سائر جهات,	and various other charges and demands known under the general denomination of *Sáyr Jihát*.

The final return of Akbar's series is derived from the publication of De Laët,[1] under information supplied to him by P. Vanden Broecke, President of the Dutch Factory at Surat, who was intimately conversant with the commerce and exchanges of the day, and must have had access to good copies of the Áín-i Akbari, or other official papers, to have enabled him to supply the deficiencies in our extant versions. Singular to say, the data here contributed completely establish the correctness of my proposed rectification of our modern MSS., and subsidiarily of Gladwin's Translation, in the substitution of *six* in place of the "three" in the *arbs*, or "thousand millions," an emendation of the Persian text, I must confess to have been diffident about for the moment,[1] considering the violence it did to all received notions. The extract is otherwise of obvious importance in supporting my determination of the value of the Sikandari Tankah, and, on the other hand, by its full definition of the exchange rate of the *dám* of account, in proving that I was in error in supposing that these pieces were ever reckoned in the revenue returns as the double *dáms* of Ferishtah, etc.[2]

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[1] De Imperio Magni Mogolis, sive India Vera, Joannes de Laët. Lugduni Batavorum, ex officina Elzeviriana, 1631. The section of the work from which the extract, now reprinted, is taken, constitutes the tenth or supplementary chapter on Indian history, derived from contemporary national and other testimony, and translated into Latin from the Dutch. The dates of events are carried down to A.D. 1628.

My attention was first attracted to this curious and very rare work by an excellent article in the *Calcutta Review* (October, 1870, January, 1871), on the "Topography of the Mogul Empire," by Mr. E. Lethbridge, which traces, with equal patience and ability, the geographical details furnished by the opening chapter, entitled "Indiæ sive Imperii Magni Mogolis Topographica Descriptio."

"Coronatione Regis Zianhaengier ubique pervulgata, Legati è Persia, Tartaria, Golconda, Visiapor, Decan, atque à vicinis Radziis, cum opulentissmis donis advenerunt, ut ipsi felicia omnia comprecarentur. Parebant tum ipsi hæ provinciæ *Kandahaer*, *Kabul*, *Cassamier*, *Ghassenie*, *& Benazaed*, *Guzaratta*, *Sinde*, sive *Tatta*, *Gandhees*, *Brampor*, *Barar*, *Bengala*, *Orixa*, *Ode*, *Malouvv*, *Agra*, *Delly*, cum suis limitibus; è quibus annuus census colligitur, uti constat è rationali Regis Achabar; VI Areb & XCVIII Caror, Dam, id est, si ad tangas exigas III Areb & XLIX Caror tangarum; sive secundum monetam regni, XX tangas in singulas rupias computando; aut I Caror tangarum in V lack rupiar. XVII Caror. & XLV

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[1] "Chronicles," p. 388, *note* 3.

[2] pp. 369, 387. The demi-official *Dastúr al 'Amals* of the third year of Aurangzéb, to which further reference will be made in the body of the text, specify in detail the several rates of exchange prevailing at this later period, and discriminate the $\frac{1}{40}$ rupee *dám* by the term *tankhwáhi*, or "revenue" *dám*. As the passage in question is open to comment, I annex the original Persian.

یکروپیه‌را شانزده آنه مقرر است و آنه‌را بیست دام مقرر و دیگر
دام تنخواهي یک روپیه‌را چهل دام میشود و دام خام یک پل‌را
بیست و پنج دام مقرر است

—Addit. MSS. British Museum, Nos. 6598 and 6599. See also pp. 158, 360.

Lack rupiarum: atque universus hic annuus census in Magnates, Ducesque & stipendia militum effunditur. De Thesauris à Rege Achabare relictis alibi diximus" (pp. 206–7).

JAHÁNGÍR'S REVENUES.

The next division of the subject embraces the reports of our own countrymen trading with India, or other Englishmen who chanced to reach the Court of the Great Mughal.

Prominent among these is Capt. William Hawkins,[1] who, on his arrival at Agrah, in April, 1609, found himself at once in high esteem with the Emperor Jahángír, in virtue of his knowledge of "Turkish." For a time there was no limit to the royal favour.[2] Hawkins was elevated to a place among the nobles of the land under the title of *Inglis Khán* (English Lord); had a stipend assigned to him; and his Majesty went so far, with a view to retain him near his person, as to offer to select for him a "white maiden from his palace," who should become a Christian by imperial command. Hawkins, however, evaded this compliment, and compromised the difficulty by accepting an Armenian wife, "a Christian of honest descent." But the growing jealousy of the more bigoted Muslim officers of the Court, at the consideration shown to the Nazarenes, was brought to a climax by the baptism, at the King's instance, of the three sons of his brother, inconveniently near relations, who, to use the words of William Finch, were "conducted to the church by all the Christians in the city, to the number of about sixty horse, Captain Hawkins being at their head, with St. George's ensign carried before him, in honour of England."[1]

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[1] I have elsewhere quoted him as "Richard Hawkins." My mistake in the Christian name was due to "Murray's Travels in Asia," (ii. p. 126), where he is so designated.

[2] "According to command, I resorted to the Court, where I had daily conference with the king. Both night and day his delight was very much to talke with me both of the affaires of England and other countries. . . . . Many days and weeks being past, and I now in great favour with the king; . . . . and now continuing these great favours with the king, being continually in his sight, for the one halfe of foure and twentie hours serving him day and night. . . . [When the reverse came], Abd al Hasan, the hostile *vazir*, 'gave order, that I be suffered no more to enter within the red rayles, which is a place of honour, where all my time I was placed very neere to the king, in which place there were but five men in the kingdom before me.' "—Purchas, i. cap. 7, sec. 2, pp. 209–13; Kerr's Voyages, viii. 252.

Hawkins left India in 1611, and died on his passage home. His narrative was originally embodied in a report, written by himself, addressed to the "English Company," from which the following extract is taken:—[2]

"The King's yearly income of his Crowne Land is fiftie Crou of Rupias, every Crou is 100 Leckes, and every Leck is an hundred thousand Rupiæ.[3]

"The compasse of his countrey is two yeares travell with carravan, to say, from Candahar to Agra, from Soughtare

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[1] "Narrative of William Finch, Merchant, who accompanied Capt. Hawkins." —Purchas, i. 414; Kerr, viii. 267.

[2] Kerr remarks upon Wm. Hawkins's narrative: "Captain Hawkins in the Dragon accompanied Captain Keeling, in the third voyage fitted out by the English Company; and Finch was in the same vessel with Hawkins, and accompanied him into the country of the Mogul. The present narrative is said, in its title in the Pilgrims, to have been written to the Company, and evidently appears to have been penned by Hawkins himself, without any semblance of having been subjected to the rude pruning knife of Purchas."—Kerr's Voyages, viii. p. 220.

[3] The marginal note in Purchas adds, "the rupia is 2 shillings sterling; some say 2*s.* 3*d.*, some 2*s.* 6*d.*" Terry, in 1616, speaks of the rupees as "of divers values, the meanest being worth 2 shillings, and the best about 2*s.* 9*d.*"—Purchas, ii. p. 146; Kerr, ix. p. 292.

"Argentea autem per Rupias . quæ communiter valent duos solidos et Novem denarios Angl. interdum etiam ~~tantum duos.~~"—De Laët, p. 155.

[Satgáon] in Bengala to Agra, from Cabul to Agra, from Decan to Agra, from Surat to Agra, from Tatta in Sinde to Agra. Agra is in a manner the heart of all his kingdomes."
—Purchas, i. 216.

This statement of the Revenues of India, in 1609–11, must be admitted to be fully definite in its terms, and encumbered with no hesitating doubts; as to its correctness, or the sufficiency of the deponent's knowledge, there can equally be no reasonable ground of objection.[1] Hawkins was an experienced trader, who, in the course of his dealings, had necessarily to master systems of exchange and money values, and who, later in the day, had exceptional sources of information regarding the taxation and general administration of the country, of which he has rendered a more or less comprehensive account. I should not quote him with confidence upon any question which concerned the geography of those portions of the continent he himself had not seen, but I am quite prepared to rely upon him in matters coming fairly within his own cognizance. The boon companion of the reigning monarch, a stipendiary noble of the land, with whose manners and customs he so readily identified himself, could have no difficulty in obtaining a correct sum total of the Exchequer balance sheet, when he was admitted to a knowledge so much more likely to have been accorded with reserve of the absolute contents of the royal treasury itself.[1]

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[1] One correction is, however, clearly necessary in the old English term of the "crowne land," which cannot be taken to mean *land* revenue alone, but must be held to comprehend the Imperial *estate* in its largest sense, including taxes, customs, and all other miscellaneous receipts, of which the author himself gives a casual outline. As an instance of how these incidental items were liable to affect the annual totals, Hawkins makes mention, as within his own knowledge, of the King taking possession of the estate of one of his subjects at his death, when, "besides jewels, silver, and other valuables, his treasure in gold only amounted to 60 *mans*, every *man* being 55 pounds weight." The royal title to succeed to the effects of deceased persons was a constant grievance to our own countrymen, and a bar to its exercise is inserted in most of our early treaties. *E.g.* Thomas Best's Convention, 1612, para. 8 (Kerr, ix. p. 101); Roe's Treaty, para. 11 (Kerr, ix. p. 272).

But, in truth, the officials of the day seem to have had no reticence in imparting the financial circumstances surrounding State dignities; even Sir T. Roe, who was far less at home, when Europeans had already lost something of their early prestige, was able to obtain a free report upon the special provincial income and expenditure of his friend the Governor of Patna,[2] though, as he was on more distant

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[1] W. Hawkins's account of the treasures of Jahángír embraces the following details (Purchas, i. p. 217):—

		RUPEES.
	GOLD.	
a.	In primis Seraffines Ecberi—60 *laks*, @ 10 rupees each........ =	6,00,00,000
b.	Of another sorte of coyne of 1000 Rs. each—20,000 pieces...... =	2,00,00,000
c.	„ „ 500 „ 10,000 „ ...... =	50,00,000
d.	Of another sort of gold of 20 *tolahs*—30,000 pieces (6,00,000×10) =	60,00,000
e.	„ „ 10 „ 25,000 „ (2,50,000×10) =	25,00,000
f.	„ „ 5 „ 50,000 „ (2,50,000×10) =	25,00,000
	SILVER.	
a.	Akbari rupees.......................... 13 *kror*.................... =	13,00,00,000
b.	"Coyne of Selim Sháh, this king," of 100 *tolahs*, 50,000 pieces =	50,00,000
c.	„ „ „ 50 „ 1,00,000 „ =	50,00,000
d.	„ „ „ 30 „ 40,000 „ =	12,00,000
e.	„ „ „ 20 „ 30,000 „ =	6,00,000
f.	„ „ „ 10 „ 20,000 „ =	2,00,000
g.	„ „ „ 5 „ 25.000 „ =	1,25,000
h.	Of a certain money that is called Savoy (Sauoy), which is a *tole* ¼, of these there are 2,00,000.. =	2.50,000
i.	Of Iagaries, whereof 5 make 6 *toles*, there is 1,00,000. "More should have been coyned of this stampe, but the contrary was commanded" .... =	1,20,000
		Rs. 23,84,95.000
		or £ 23,849,500

[2] Sir Thomas Roe, speaking of Jamál-ud-dín Husain, Subahdár of Patna, says, "He showed me a book containing the annals of all memorable actions of his time,

terms with leading men of the Court, he, perhaps, wisely confined himself, in his notice of the Imperial resources, to the generalities of the subjoined extract: "In revenue he doubtless exceeds either Turk or Persian, or any Eastern Prince, the sums I dare not name." (Letter of Sir T. Roe, Ambassador of James I. at the Court of Agrah, to the Archbishop of Canterbury, dated Ajmír, 1615.)[1]

Thomas Coryate, writing from Ajmír in the same year, and who in other places rather repeats Sir T. Roe,[2] adverts incidentally to the revenues of Jahángír in the following terms: "His dominions are very extensive, being about 4000 English miles in circumference, nearly answerable to the compass of the Turkish territories; or, if the Mogul kingdom be in any way inferior in size to that empire, it is more than equally endowed with a fertile soil beyond that of any other country, and in having its territory connected together in one goodly continent, within which no other prince possesses one single foot of land. The yearly revenue of the Mogul extends to forty millions of crowns, of six shillings each, while that of the Turk does not exceed fifteen millions, as I was credibly

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which he daily committed to record, and offered me a copy if I would procure it to be translated. This also treated concerning the king's revenue, and the manner in which it was raised, besides confiscations, gifts, and deductions upon the great men. He showed me that the government of every province paid yearly a certain rent to the king. Thus for his government at Patna, he gave yearly to the king eleven laks of rupees; all other profits of the government being his own, he having entire power and authority to take what he thought fit. His government was estimated at 5000 horse, the pay of each being 200 rupees yearly, of which he only kept 1500 on foot, being allowed the surplus as dead pay. Besides which, he had a daily pension of 1000 rupees, and enjoyed some smaller governments."—Churchill, i. 633; Kerr's Voyages, ix. p. 282.

[1] Churchill's Voyages, i. p. 659.

[2] Purchas, i. p. 594; Kerr, ix. pp. 422, 428.

informed at Constantinople; nor that of the Sophy five millions."

I allow this last extract to stand for what it is worth; it is difficult to reconcile its terms with other items of nearly contemporaneous evidence.[1] The resulting total of £12,000,000 for the Imperial income is clearly far below the mark, even if applied to exclusively *land* revenue; and the system of reckoning by "crowns of six shillings each" is altogether exceptional, and appears in curious contrast to another passage in the same letter, where the writer speaks of the present which reached the Emperor, during his stay at Ajmír, to the "value of ten of their lacks, a lack being £10,000 sterling."

As this was Coryate's first letter after his arrival at Ajmír, when he was confessedly ignorant of Persian, it is scarcely worth while dwelling upon his apparent errors, from which we may charitably exonerate his subsequently declared patron, Sir T. Roe.[2]

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[1] Purchas, in a side-note to this letter, adds, "Of his revenues and of all other things of this State, reade Captain Hawkins, his relations, who had better meanes and judgement to know them." Terry speaks of Coryate as "notus nimis omnibus," and praises him highly, but with discrimination. Coryate died near Surat in December, 1617. See Terry's work, separate edition, London, 1727, reprinted from the earlier edition of 1655, pp. 55–73.

[2] By far the most intelligent observer of all our countrymen in India at this period was Edward Terry, the Chaplain to Sir T. Roe. The Oxford M.A., however, laboured under disadvantages in regard to free intercourse with the Court officials, and possibly for this reason tells us nothing about the revenues. His full geographical summary was the earliest contribution to the knowledge of the day, and forms the basis of De Laët's amplified detail. Terry has left on record some notes on the coinage, which are curious. "All the coin or bullion that comes to this country is presently melted down and refined, and coined with the stamp of the Mogul, being his name and titles in Persian characters. This coin is purer silver than any other that I know, being of virgin silver without alloy,

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SHÁH JAHÁN'S REVENUES.

Abd ul Hamíd, the author of the Bádsháh Námah,[1] prefaces his account of the revenues of Sháh Jahán by a definition of the extent and boundaries of the empire, which he calculates as "in length, from Láhri Bandar to Sílhet, close upon 2000 *kos P̣ádsháhi*, each *kos* consisting of 5000 cubits (ذراع), and each cubit of 42 fingers;[2] and in breadth, from the Fort of Bust to the Fort of Ausah (اوسه *Orissa*), about 1500 *kos*," comprising within its limits 22 *Ṣúbahs* and 4,350 subdivisional *Parganas*. . . . The whole yielding a revenue of 880 *krors*, or 8 *arbs* and 80 *krors* of *dáms* (8,80,00,00,000 *dáms*÷40=22,00,00,000 rupees÷10=£22,000,000).

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so that in the Spanish dollar, the purest money in Europe, there is some loss. Their money is called *rupees*. . . . This is their general money of account. . . . That which passes current for small change is brass money, which they call *pices*, of which three, or thereabout, are worth an English penny. These are made so massy, that the brass in them, when put to other uses, is well worth the quantity of silver at which they are rated. Their silver money is made both square and round, but so thick that it never breaks or wears out."—E. Terry (in Kerr, ix. p. 392).

[1] The Bâdshâh Nâmah comprises the history of the reign of Shâh Jahân from his accession in A.H. 1037 (A.D. 1627) to the close of the thirtieth year of his reign. The first and second volumes are by 'Abd ul Hamîd Lâhori, who died in A.H. 1065, when the work was continued by Muhammad Wâris. An edition of the text, embracing the two opening volumes, has been published in the Calcutta Bibliotheca Indica.

[2] See "Chronicles," pp. 371–73. The Sikandari *gaz* was 32 fingers, the Akbari 46, and the Ilâhi 41 fingers. The Shâh Jahân Nâmah has گز in lieu of ذراع.

The revenue returns of the 22 *Ṣúbahs* and the *Viláyat* of Baglánah are given as follows:—

	DÁMS.	RUPEES.
1. Dehli	1,00,00,00,000	2,50,00,000
2. Agrah	90,00,00,000	2,25,00,000
3. Láhor	90,00,00,000	2,25,00,000
4. Ajmír	60,00,00,000	1,50,00,000
5. Daulatábád	55,00,00,000	1,37,50,000
6. Berár	55,00,00,000	1,37,50,000
7. Ahmadábád	53,00,00,000	1,32,50,000
8. Bengal	50,00,00,000	1,25,00,000
9. Allahábád	40,00,00,000	1,00,00,000
10. Bihár	40,00,00,000	1,00,00,000
11. Málwah	40,00,00,000	1,00,00,000
12. Khandés	40,00,00,000	1,00,00,000
13. Oude	30,00,00,000	75,00,000
14. Telingánah	30,00,00,000	75,00,000
15. Multán	28,00,00,000	70,00,000
16. Orissa	20,00,00,000	50,00,000
17. Kábul	16,00,00,000	40,00,000
18. Kashmír	15,00,00,000	37,50,000
19. Ṭaṭah	8,00,00,000	20,00,000
20. Balkh	8,00,00,000	20,00,000
21. Kandahár	6,00,00,000	15,00,000
22. Badakhshán	4,00,00,000	10,00,000
23. Baglánah	2,00,00,000	5,00,000
	8,80,00,00,000	22,00,00,000

Having completed the specification of the revenues of the several divisions, the author observes, that at the accession of Sháh Jahán the State income only amounted to 700 *krors* of *dáms* (Rs. 17,50,00,000), but that during the twenty initial years of the new reign prosperity had made material progress in the land, and the acquisitions in the Dakhan, accounted for in detail, had contributed to the enhanced total entered in the return. After some further remarks upon the change of the designation of the old Ṣúbah of Daulatábád to that of Ahmadnagar, the writer somewhat abruptly introduces a third return, which may be supposed to refer to the Hijrah years 1057–8 (A.D. 1647–8), as the latter date occurs in a subsequent page, though the author himself did not die till A.H. 1065 (A.D. 1654–5), and may have gone on adding to and improving his work continuously up to the end of his life.

The supplementary passage quoted below[1] is to the effect

[1] از همگي ولايات سابق و لاحق صد و بيست كرور* دام خالصه مقرري است كه موافق دوازده ماه سه كرور* روپيه حاصل آنست محصول باقي برين قياس بايد نمود ـ پيشتر اين قدر خالصه نبود درين عهد ابدپيوند از وسعت مملكت قرار يافته

—Calcutta *printed* Persian text, vol. ii. p. 712.

As I had some doubts about the authenticity of this possibly interpolated passage, I consulted a MS. Pádsháh Námah in the British Museum (Addit. No. 26,222), which was found to correspond with the above version. And M. Sachau was so obliging as to examine for me the single MS. copy of the second volume of the work in the Bodleian Library (MS. Elliot, No. 368, engrossed in A.H. 1109, A.D. 1697), which varies only to the extent of unaccountably omitting the words placed between the *stars* in the above text.

The nearly contemporary Sháh Jahán Námah of Ashná Ináyat Khán slightly modifies the tenor of the sentence, without altering the relative amounts.

از جمله اين صد و بيست كرور دام خالصه مقرري است كه موافق دوازده ماهي سه كرور روپيه حاصل دارد

—Addit. MS. British Museum, شاه جهان نامه No. 20,735, p. 304. "The King of Dehli's own copy, 1815."

Mr. Morley, in his Catalogue of the Royal Asiatic Society's MSS., remarks that, calculating the income from the old and newly annexed provinces, the monthly revenue of the empire may be taken as "120,00,00,000 *dáms*, or 3,00,00,000 rupees," giving an annual return of 36,00,00,000 rupees or £36,000,000, at the lowest estimate of exchange.[1] It is, of course, possible that the intention in the citation of this lump sum may have been to cover revenue from all sources; but the context certainly does not necessitate such a conclusion,[2] though it

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that "this work is little more than an abridgment of the Bádsháh Námah of 'Abd ul Hamíd." The author, however, occupied a good position at Court, and was quite competent to correct or improve any shortcomings in the original, upon which he based his history. He died in A.H. 1077 (A.D. 1666).

Kháfi Khán, who quotes what he calls the Sháh Jahán Námah (the name is used indifferently, without much discrimination, for the Bádsháh Námah), does not reproduce this passage, but heads the detail list above given with the words

جمع دامي بيست و يك صوبهٔ هندوستان لغايت سنه بيست
جلوس صاحب قران كه بازكم و زيادهٔ شده باشد بدين تفصيل

—Calcutta Text, p. 672.

Kháfi Khán's work is otherwise entitled the "Muntakhab-i-Lubb-i-Lubáb." It was composed in Aurangzéb's reign, but only published in A.H. 1145 (A.D. 1732).

[1] The word خالصه, *Khálṣah*, implies conventionally *State land*, or, rather, in general terms, the revenue of land coming directly into the State coffers, as distinguished from the same rents or dues when temporarily assigned or permanently alienated for other objects, in diminution of the normal governmental demand. Khálṣah, however, is a term whose application was generally misunderstood by early European travellers, and hence we find them saying "all the land is his," *i.e.* the King's; but, in truth, his title merely extended to the share of the State, noticed at pp. 8, 15. The King could, of course, alienate his *own* or "the *Khálṣah*" demand, plus the cost of collection, and the inevitable rights, titles, and perquisites incident to local government, but all these concessions could be resumed again by a stroke of the pen. These grants may have been called by many names, but "during pleasure" was the inexorable rule. In its home sense, the purport of the word Khálṣah was frequently modified, so that in the Punjáb it came at last to indicate the State itself.

[2] It must be borne in mind that wherever these estimates are made on the basis of the rate of 40 *dáms* to the rupee, this of itself implies the corresponding

will, perhaps, be as well to limit the interpretation of the passage to an assertion that the monarch had available for ordinary expenses an average of 3,00,00,000 rupees per month, after deducting all assignments, alienations, etc. A construction in this sense is the more imperative, seeing that the author is specially given to "averages," every one of his minor items of the revenue tables being avowedly reduced to a mean sum in even figures. We thus obtain three several returns—(1) for the year of Jahángír's death, A.H. 1037, or A.D. 1627–8, amounting to £17,500,000; (2) for A.D. 1648–9, £22,000,000; and (3) for A.D. 1647–8, or some later period, a general or mixed total of £36,000,000.

Having exhausted the semi-official Chronicles of the Court scribes, and the casual contributions of the English pioneers in the camps of the Great Mughal, we have now to test the evidence of Europeans of other nationalities who had opportunities, more or less complete, of obtaining information regarding the finances of India during the reigns of Sháh Jahán and Aurangzéb.

First in order among these, figures the name of J. A. de Mandelsloe, who refers only incidentally to the revenues of the Mughal Empire in A.D. 1638, in the following terms, as rendered into English:—"According to the roll of the kingdom, the provinces of Kandahár, Dehli, Bengal, Orixa, and some others, bring in a yearly revenue of 87,250,000 crowns." (Harris's Collection, i. 762.)

This passage is scarcely definite enough to command any very close examination; but if we might assume that

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obligation of recognizing the full value of the best silver coin in circulation (see "Chronicles," p. 421), so that in calculating relative values in English money, even the 2*s.* 6*d.* rate of exchange would bring this total of 36,00,00,000 rupees up to £45,000,000.

Mandelsloe's estimate by "crowns"[1] was intended to represent that number of rupees, as the context seems to imply, and further correct the given sum by the addition of an 0, we should have to admit that the country had already arrived at an approach to the pitch of prosperity claimed for it with more distinctness by later authors in A.D. 1695–7.

An incidental notice of the Revenues of India under Sháh Jahán is to be found in Ramusio, where, in introduction to the detail of the provincial returns of Aurangzéb's income in A.D. 1707 (quoted at large at p. 49 *infrà*), it is stated that "in his father's time the empire consisted of twenty-three provinces, the revenues of which amounted to £27,500,000 of our money; but in the latter end of his father's time the three provinces of Balkh, Kandahár, and Badakhshán were lost, which produced a revenue of £600,000." (Harris, i. 651.) It will be seen, when we come to analyze the full details of the return of Aurangzéb's revenue in A.D. 1707, as reported by this authority, that the total of £27,500,000 here given is obtained by estimating the rupee at 2*s.* 6*d.*, which brings us back to the frequently recurring sum assigned to this period of 22,00,00,000 rupees, or, at the lower rate of 2*s.* per rupee, to £22,000,000.

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[1] He estimates the value of Akbar's treasure in "crowns and pence," and defines the "crown" as equal to 60 *payses*, which seems to prove that his term "crowns" merely applied to current rupees, an inference which is further established by the total he gives of the treasure itself, as his *cash* return of 19,91,73,333 evidently refers to the same sum as that quoted by De Laët as 19,83,46,666 rupees.—Harris, i. p. 762.

AURANGZÉB'S REVENUES.

Next in progression of dates, we are able to produce more formal official documents regarding the state of the Imperial revenue at and about this period. These consist of the assessment tables inserted in the *Dastúr al 'Amals*, or revenue manuals, already referred to, which, in this instance, profess to refer to a *specific* year of the reign of Aurangzéb. As far as can be ascertained, the two MSS. in the British Museum (Addit. Nos. 6598 and 6599) are official and nearly duplicate copies of what purports to be the *Dastúr al 'Amal* of the third year of Aurangzéb, which is further formulated as A.H. 1065 (or A.D. 1654–5).[1] These documents are modern transcripts,[2] but the one was adopted and seemingly recopied for the use of our own fiscal *employés*, as they both bear the oblong seal of the Díwáni of Bengal and Bihár, coupled with the name of "James Grant," and dated in the Bengáli Faṣl, 1193 (A.D. 1786).[1] Among other miscellaneous contents, these MSS. have preserved parallel copies of the revenue returns of Aurangzéb for "20 Ṣúbahs and 2 kingdoms," the amount realizable from which they concur in fixing at 9,62,24,45,846 *dáms* (or Rs. 24,05,61,146=£24,056,114). The aggregate totals for the several provinces, entered in detail in the body of the work, exceed this amount by no less than £2,687,856; and, to the uninitiated, would suggest a doubt as to the correctness of the two returns; whereas, this difference is, in effect, the best test of the relative totals themselves, and conclusive confirmation of the accuracy of the higher figures of the associate sums. The one amount, in short, represents the *gross* returns realized in the provinces, the other the *nett* payments to the Imperial treasury; the difference being the *ten* per cent. allowed to the *'A'mil* or *Kṛoṛi* for collection.[2]

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[1] The MS. opens as follows:—

دستور العمل محملي حسب الحكم حضور اقدس اعلي حضرت
اورنگزیب عالمگیر بادشاه غازي در سنه ۳ جلوس و یکهزار شصت
وپنج هجري از هر صیغه انتخاب نموده * *

[2] MS. No. 6598 has an entry at the end of one of its sections of "Dehli, 28th *Shawál*, *San* 28 of Sháh 'Alam," *i.e.* 1789. There is a second revenue return, copied by a different penman, in a later portion of this MS. (p. 130), giving a grand total of "6,63,29,46,338 *dáms* for the 23 Şúbahs," seemingly another version of the old settlement of the Áín-i Akbari, which has already been quoted from an independent MS. ("Chronicles," p. 444) in confirmation of my correction of Abul Fazl's figures. The minor items of this illustrative table are intermediate between Abd ul Hamíd's returns and those now given for the third year of Aurangzéb s reign; and the six Şúbahs of the Dakhan are separately placed at 6,00,22,22,140 *dáms*.

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[1] The full legend on the seal is as follows:—

بدارالمهام سپه‌سالار انگریز کمپني دیوان صوبه‌جات بنگاله و بهار
وغیره صدر سرشته‌دار و ملاحظدفاتر ازصارف جمس کرانتؕ سنه
۱۱۹۳ بنگله

James Grant was one of those admirable Executive officers of our early service in the East who so conscientiously investigated the details of the fiscal administration of our predecessors,—the value of whose work the Government of the day were utterly incapable of appreciating. Mr. Grant's exhaustive returns are to be found in the Fifth Report on Indian Affairs, presented to the House of Commons (1812).

[2] Akbar's *Kṛoṛi*, or collector of a *kṛoṛ* of *dáms*, received eight per cent. on the amount of his realizations, together with other perquisites. In A.D. 1639, under Sháh Jahán, the *Kṛoṛi* or *'Ámil* was invested with the additional duties of *Faujdár*, with an allowance of ten per cent. on the collections. These per-centages were subsequently modified in their details; under S'adullah Khán, five per cent. only was allowed to the *Kṛoṛi*, and of this one per cent. was subsequently deducted. This arrangement was upheld in Aurangzéb's reign, and lasted till the dissolution of the empire.—Elliot's Glossary, i. p. 198.

AURANGZÉB'S REVENUE IN A.D. 1654–5.

	DÁMS.	RUPEES.
1. Dehli	1,55,88,39,127	3,89,70,978
2. Agrah	1,36,46,02,117	3,41,15,052
3. Láhor	1,08,97,59,776	2,72,43,994
4. Ajmír	64,87,61,685	1,62,19,042
5. Daulatábád	50,71,60,000	1,26,79,000
6. Berár	59,06,00,000	1,47,65,000
7. Ahmadábád	86,92,88,069	2,17,32,201
8. Bengal	45,78,58,000	1,14,46,450
9. Allahábád	52,78,81,196	1,31,97,029
10. Bihár	54,53,00,935	1,36,32,523
11. Malwáh	55,73,17,320	1,39,32,933
12. Khándés	49,69,30,000	1,24,23,250
13. Oude	36,39,82,859	90,99,571
14. Telingana	19,46,08,000	48,65,200
15. Multán	33,84,21,178	84,60,529
16. Orissa	22,55,80,000	56,39,500
17. Kábul	9,70,78,000	24,26,950
18. Kashmír	11,43,90,000	28,59,750
19. Ṭaṭah	8,92,30,000	22,30,750
20. Kandahár	6,00,00,000	15,00,000
Dáms	10,69,75,88,262	
÷40=	26,74,39,706	Rs. 26,74,39,702

Gross return, £26,743,970. Nett return, £24,056,114.

A witness, for whom the greatest reliance might have been claimed, had he expressed more confidence in his own returns, is the celebrated traveller Bernier, who, in his leading narrative, so far neglected the subject of the income of the State as to omit all reference to it in his first edition, only inserting the subjoined table as an appendix to the re-issue of his work. For obvious reasons, he is apologetic regarding the table itself, and expresses his distrust of the grand total, which he clearly considered to be far too large in amount. I confess that I estimate the document at a higher standard than the author was disposed to concede to it; and so far from any excess in the grand total, I am disposed to impute a deficiency, especially in the complete omission of any return for the province of Bengal, and the manifest absence of a nought in the sum assigned for Kashmír.

Bernier tells us nothing of the source from whence he derived his data, nor the precise year to which they refer,[1] but they bear the stamp of a certain degree of authenticity, and, allowing for deficiencies, they fairly fit in with the prior and subsequent returns.

I have allowed them to stand in the form supplied by the French text, but the suggested emendations would raise the sum total by 31,50,000 rupees for the difference in the Kashmíri figures, and some 2,00,00,000 to 2,50,00,000 at the lowest estimate for the revenues of Bengal,[2] which last item Bernier himself, perhaps intentionally, omitted, as he adverts to the temporary antagonism and independence of the province under Sultán Shujah.

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[1] His description of Dehli and Agrah was written at Dehli in July, 1663. Subsequent portions of the work were written at Kashmír in the same year. In 1667 Bernier was in Golconda (p. 131); and his letter from Shíráz, on his homeward journey, is dated 1667 (p. 173).

[2] Curious to say, Bernier, among his other errors, has omitted, in his final summary, the *twenty* in the 22 *krors* of rupees, and made the grand total "deux" *krors* only. In this he has been followed mechanically by the Editor of the English translation (London, 1672), who also sums up his total as "above two kourours" of rupees (iv. p. 178). And the mistake has remained undetected in Pinkerton's Collection, viii. p. 234.

"Memoire oublié à inserer dans mon premier Ouvrage pour perfectionner la Carte de l'Indoustan, et savoir les Revenus du Grand Mogol."[1]

	RUPEES.
1. Dehli… … … … … …	1,95,25,000
2. Agrah … … … … …	2,52,25,000
3. Láhor … … … … …	2,46,95,000
4. Hasmir[2] … … … … …	2,19,70,000
5. Gujarát (Ahmadábád) …	1,33,95,000
6. Kandahár[3] … … …	19,92,500
7. Málwah … … … …	91,62,500
8. Patna or Bihár … …	95,80,000
9. Allahábád… … … …	94,70,000
10. Oude[4] … … … … …	68,30,000
11. Multán … … … …	1,18,40,500
12. "Jagannat' … … …	72,70,000
13. Kashmír … … … …	3,50,000
14. Kábul … … … …	32,72,500
15. Tata … … … …	23,20,000
16. Aurangábád … … …	1,72,27,500
17. "Varada" (Berár) … …	1,58,75,000
18. Khándés … … … …	1,85,50,000
19. Telingána[5] … … …	68,85,000
20. Baglana[6] … … … …	5,00,000
	Rs. 22,59,35,500 or £22,593,550

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[1] Bernier's Voyages, Amsterdam, 1724, vol. ii., p. 354. See also English edition, iv. p. 175.

[2] Qui appartient à un Raja, donne au roi de tribut, etc.

[3] Chiefly under Persia; Perganahs remaining to India pay as above.

[4] Pinkerton's Voyages, viii. p. 61, and English translation, gives Oude as 64,30,000.

[5] "Talengand, qui confine au Royaume de Golkonda du côté de Massipatan, a quarante-trois Pragnas."

[6] "Bagnala qui confine aux terres des Portugais et aux montagnes de Sevagi,

"Suivant ce Memoire que je ne crois pas trop exact ni veritable, le Grand Mogol a de rente tous les ans de ses seules Terres plus de deux Kouroures de Roupies."

The subjoined account of Dr. Gemelli Careri,[1] relating to the year 1695 A.D., is highly interesting in the close approach of the sum named as the *grand total* of the revenues of Aurangzéb (£80,000,000) to that given from the independent testimony of Manucci:—"Of the revenues and wealth of the Great Mogul, an infinite quantity of roupies is continually flowing into the Great Mogul's exchequer; for besides the usual taxes and excessive imposts, the subjects must pay for their land, which is all his. . . . . . I was told that the *Mogul* receives from only his hereditary countries 80 *carores* of *roupies* a year (every *carore* is ten millions); they could give me no certain account of what the conquered kingdoms yield. There is an author, not well acquainted with this affair, who reduces this monarch's revenue to 33 millions (Thevenot, Voy. des. Ind. c. 3, p. 12).[2] Another, on the other side, makes it infinite,

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ce Raja qui a saccagé Sourate, a deux Serkars, huit Pragnas." The nidus of the future power of the Mahrattas, "*Bhagelana*," "between the 20th and 21st degree N. latitude."—Hamilton, Rennell, etc.

[1] Gemelli Careri (Jean François), célèbre voyageur italien, né à Naples, vers 1651, mort vers 1725. "Giro del Mondo," Naples, 1699–1700, 6 vol. in 12. In French, Voyage autour du monde, Paris, 1719, new edit. 1776.

[2] The subjoined is Thevenot's return for A.D. 1666:—

	French Livres.
1. Dehli	37,000,000 to 38,000,000
2. Agrah...	37,000,000
3. Láhor...	37,000,000
4. Ajmír	32,000,000 to 33,000,000
5. Daulátábad (Aurangábád)..	25,000,000
6. Berár (Becar)	14,000,000
7. Ahmadábád	20,500,000
8. Bengal (including 16) ...	10,000,000 or 9,000,000

and that alone which he says is in the treasury seems fabulous (De Imp. Mog. sive India vera, p. 142).[1] But they that will judge of it by his expenses, must consider that the *Mogul* has dispersed throughout his empire 300,000 horse and 400,000 foot, who have all great pay." (A Voyage Round the World, by Dr. J. F. Gemelli Careri, Churchill's Collection, iv. p. 235.)

As the return of Aurangzéb's revenues contributed by Manucci exhibits the highest amount of taxation realized under the Mughals, it is satisfactory to be able to preface its details by documents, indicating approximate advances in the State income, derived from independent native sources.

The data for the subjoined tables are extracted from the

		French Livres		French Livres.
9.	Allahábád	14,000,000		
10.	Bihár (Varad)	27,000,000		
11.	Málwah	14,000,000		
12.	Khandes	27,000,000		
13.	Oude	10,000,000		
14.	Telingana	10,000,000		
15.	Multán	17,500,000		
16.	Orissa (Bengal)...			
17.	Kábul...	4,000,000	to 5,000,000	
18.	Kashmír	500,000	to 600,000	
19.	Ṭaṭta (Sind)	3,400,000		
20.	Balkh			
21.	Kandahár	14,000,000	to 15,000,000	
22.	Badakshan...			
23.	Baglana*	750,000		
	Total for 20 Provinces ...	354,650,000	+ 3,100,000	= 357,750,000

* Capital, "Mouler," p. 82.

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[1] I can scarcely concur in this criticism. Taking De Laët's own figures, Akbar, with a yearly revenue from land alone of £17,450,000, left in his treasury cash to the amount of £19,834,666, or little more than half a year's income, if we include all sources of taxation. See also Hawkins's return, p. 24; Mandelsloe's return, p. 32 *antè;* and Harris's Collection, i. p. 762.

official statistics embodied in the manuals of the collectors of revenue, conventionally known as "Dastúr al 'Amals." From the number of these authoritative guides still extant, I am able to cite no less than *three*, which bear upon some later epoch of Aurangzéb's reign.[1] The returns contributed, imperfect as they are in their details, are definite and distinct in their totals, and clearly refer to one original official compilation. Unfortunately, the copies available are all modern transcripts, and show unmistakable signs of the ignorance and carelessness of the engrossers, and an entire want of method in checking or reconciling the subordinate items with the larger totals. With all these drawbacks, however, they are quite sufficient for the purpose, now in view, of testing the value of Manucci's sources of information. And here I would desire to explain why I prefer to rely upon external testimony rather than upon the formal papers of the servants of the State: these latter usually refer to a given assessment or settlement of the land revenue for a term of years, without marking in any distinct way the incidental fluctuations of absolute collections, the loss of territory, or the spread of conquest. If written up at all, they were probably merely altered for the province or locality in which they were in use; whereas, a competent witness at head-quarters would be in a position to obtain exact information of the actual income for the current year, as it was reported, on immediate realization from the various divisions of the empire.

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[1] MS. A is the work alluded to at p. 14 *suprà*. Many passages in the text indicate that Aurangzéb was reigning at the period of its compilation.

MS. B is a copy of a MS., in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, made for Sir H. Elliot in 1854. It purports to be a history of the Kings of Dehli, but among other matter it contains a very imperfect return of Sháh Jahán's revenues, many of the items of which accord with the figures furnished by Abd ul Hamíd *Láhori*: but the ignorance of the scribe has converted the *dáms* of the original into the same number of rupees, or forty times the true amount. The Aurangzéb return occurs later in the work, and is unaccompanied by any introduction, except the usual heading of "the Ṣúbahs of the occupied kingdom."

MS. C is a fragment, also copied for Sir H. Elliot; but the original from whence it is derived is not specified. It contains full returns for the 21 Ṣúbahs and 205 Sirkárs; the details of the revenue of the latter are given at large, after the plan adopted in the Áín-i Akbari.

The *raḳams*, or abbreviated word-figures, in which all Indian revenue accounts are kept, are badly formed, and at times difficult to discriminate. The author or transcriber has likewise taken little pains to verify the given sums.

Of the three MSS. from which the annexed tables have been compiled, two only furnish grand totals of the revenue of the empire, and these sums do not accord with the simple addition of the items entered in detail. MS. C places the State income at 13,80,23,56,030 *dáms*, or 34,50,58,900 *rupees;* MS. A fixes the sum at 13,80,26,56,263 *dáms*, or 34,50,66,406 *rupees.* Amid these conflicting testimonies, and specially desiring to avoid undue enhancements, I had at first selected for comparison the MS. C, which possessed the advantage of the entry of the *sarkár*, or subordinate divisional totals, which are wanting in the other MSS. The insertion of these tests would presumably secure greater accuracy in the reckoning up of the larger items. But on the other hand, the given returns do not balance, and the difference of the relative amounts not only does not allow for any reduction of the gross sum, as against the nett total, but exhibits a positive loss on the former of 31,87,761 rupees.

Under these circumstances I have adopted the compromise of recognizing the *nett* total of C as against the *gross* returns supplied by B, relatively 35,64,14,317 and 34,50,58,900 rupees, the difference, 1,13,55,417 rupees, may be accepted as a vague approach to the reduced four per cent. allowed for collection, noticed at p. 34.

AURANGZÉB'S REVENUE, FROM THREE INDEPENDENT COPIES OF OFFICIAL RETURNS.

	A. DÁMS.	B. DÁMS.	C. DÁMS.	*Dáms* in column C reduced into Rupees.
1. Dehli	1,22,29,50,177	1,21,29,50,137	1,22,29,50,137	3,05,73,753
2. Agrah	1,14,17,00,157	1,14,17,60,157	96,11,67,015	2,40,29,175
3. Láhor	89,81,32,107	89,81,32,107	89,30,39,419	2,23,25,985
4. Ajmír	65,26,45,702	65,23,45,702	60,29,80,270	1,50,74,506
5. Daulatábád (اورنگ اباد)	1,18,30,65,000	1,40,28,44,771	1,18,37,35,000	2,95,93,375
6. Berár (فتح پور)................	92,65,45,000	1,09,17,25,271	92,65,45,000	2,31,63,625
7. Ahmadábád (Gujarát)	45,47,45,135	45,47,49,135	53,65,25,000	1,34,13,125
8. Bengal	52,46,36,240	52,46,36,240	52,46,36,140	1,31,15,903
9. Allahábád[1]	45,65,43,012	45,65,43,012	42,13,46,927	1,05,33,673
10. Bihár	40,71,81,000	40,71,81,000	29,43,44,536	73,58,613
11. Málwah	40,39,80,658	40,39,80,658	40,83,46,716	1,02,08,667
12. Khándés	42,06,00,000	59,29,32,347	42,00,00,000	1,05,00,000

13. Oude	32,13,17,119	32,13,17,119	27,95,79,619	69,89,490
14. Telingána (Haiderábád)	1,09,28,65,000	1,09,35,28,000	1,00,28,35,000	2,50,70,875
15. Multán	20,43,49,896	21,43,00,000	19,98,02,318	49,95,057
16. Orissa	14,28,11,000	14,23,21,000	17,28,41,000	43,21,025
17. Kábul	10,43,49,896	16,10,39,357	20,21,81,942	50,54,548
18. Kashmír	22,49,11,397	22,99,00,392	27,79,11,397	69,47,784
19. Ṭaṭah	6,88,16,810	6,88,16,810	6,88,01,000	17,20,025
20. Bidar (محمداباد—ظفراباد)	62,05,50,000	53,07,42,342	82,05,50,000	2,05,13,750
21. Bíjápúr	2,25,48,28,140	2,25,48,27,140	2,25,47,27,140	5,63,68,178
Dáms	13,72,27,23,486	14,25,65,72,697	13,67,48,45,576	Rs. 34,18,71,132
Rs.	34,30,68,087	35,64,14,317	34,18,71,139	

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[1] I have corrected the obvious clerical error in MS. A, which assigns the sum of 1,14,17,00,157 *dáms* to Allahábád, into the more reasonable total of 45,65,43,012 *dáms*, given in MS. B. The mistake appears to have arisen from the transcriber repeating the proper Agrah return under the heading of Allahábád.

The following table has been compiled from the French text of Catrou's "Histoire générale de l'Empire du Mogol,"[1] an author who, however worthless in his own proper sphere, derives his information on fiscal matters from the higher authority of the Venetian traveller Manucci.[2] I have not thought it necessary to reproduce the original passage which contributes these figures *in extenso;* but I append in full Catrou's reiteration of the various taxes and sources of revenue which contributed in themselves a second sum equal to the full amount of the *land revenue* pure and simple, as a justification for the abrupt estimate inserted under the head of income from all sources in my concluding recapitulation. At the same time I am bound to expose both the strength and weakness of the evidence of Manucci himself. A man who for nearly fifty years was intimately connected with the reigning powers, albeit as a Frank doctor, had unusual opportunities of observing the peculiarities of the general system of government, so to say, from behind the scenes; and as regards his extracts from official documents,—which he truly says were most rigidly engrossed and preserved at the Court of the Mughal,—there need be no contest as to the completeness of the original papers from which he obtained his knowledge. There are symptoms of incorrect transmutations of the lower figures from the Persian *raḳams,*[3] especially in the number of the vacant places in the fifth column, or second place of thousands; but, otherwise, there is very little open to objection in his version. The list from which he took his returns was clearly unconventional in form, and unusually strong and independent in Dakhan totals, which are divided into new heads in the one case, and grouped into novel combinations in others, such as might be expected from the record of the Southern State ledgers of Aurangzéb's son, Sultan Mu'azzam, with whose fortunes Manucci was more directly associated. The flaw, if any, in the general detail, might be charged against the extraordinary amount assigned not only to Bengal itself, but to the unprecedented intrusion of the division of Rájmahal; but it would be more than hazardous to assert, with our present knowledge, that these things were not so, or that these amounts were not realized at any given period, however exceptional the momentary realization may have proved.

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[1] Paris, 4to., 1702. Traduite en Italien, 1718. Second edition, 4 vols. duodecimo, 1725.

[2] "Manucci (Nicolas), Voyageur vénetien, mort vers 1710.

"Il passa aux Indes fut attaché comme premier médecin au fils du grand Mogol Aurangzéb, et quitta ce prince vers 1690.

"Retiré probablement en Portugal, il publia l'ouvrage suivant, devenu rarissime: Istoria de Mogol en tres partes de Nicolas Manuchi, Veneziano; de Reinado de Orangzeb, Guerras de Golconda e Visapour com varios successos até a era de 1700. 3 vol."—*Biog. Universelle.* See also Orme's *Fragments,* iv. p. vi.

[3] The *raḳam* (رقم), or system of numeration in use in the Indian revenue

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tables, consists of a series of signs, abridged from the full Arabic word for the given number: a very terror to young students who desire to commit it to memory mechanically, but simple in the extreme when tested by its primitive elements. It proceeds upon the theory of having separate signs for the units, tens, hundreds, and thousands, the higher numbers being written in the upper lines, while the signs for the thousands, etc., are run consecutively at the foot of the sum, as in the subjoined form:—

Arbs 1. Read to the left.
Krors 2.
Laks 3.
units, tens, hundreds, thousands, 4.

The main difficulty in checking the conventional Indian definition of these sums in the lower totals arises from the slovenly practice in use of discarding the true symbols for *thousands*, and expressing those numbers by ordinary *units* and *tens*, so that unless there chance to be a sign for *a hundred* in the general sum, the written number in the lower line may stand for, say, 20,000 or 20. In the better written MSS. the insertion of the signs ـ و settles the question in favour of the thousands, but otherwise it is quite optional to which column of our figures the numbers should be referred. A full, almost needlessly full, table of these symbols is engraved in Stewart's Persian Letters, London, 1825.

TABLE OF THE REVENUES OF AURANGZÉB IN A.D. 1697.

1. Dehli	1,25,50,000	rupees.
2. Agrah	2,22,03,550	,,
3. Láhor	2,33,05,000	,,
4. Ajmír	2,19,00,002	,,
5. Gujarát	2,33,95,000	,,
6. Málwah	99,06,250	,,
7. Bihár	1,21,50,000	,,
8. Multán	50,25,000	,,
9. Kábul	32,07,250	,,
10. Tata	60,02,000	,,
11. Bakar	24,00,000	,,
12. Urecha (Orissa)	57,07,500	,,
13. Kashmír	35,05,000	,,
14. Allahábád	77,38,000	,,
15. Dakhan (*a* in General Table)	1,62,04,750	,,
16. Berár	1 58,07,500	,,
17. Kándés	1,11,05,000	,,
18. Baglánah	68,85,000	,,
19. "Nandé" (Nandair) (*b*)	72,00,000	,,
20. Bengal	4,00,00,000	,,
21. Ujain (*c*)	2,00,00,000	,,
22. Rájmahal	1,00,50,000	,,
23. Bíjápúr	5,00,00,000	,,
24. Golconda	5,00,00,000	,,
	38,62,46,802	,,

The French epitomist justifies Manucci's data, and continues the illustration of his subject from the Italian's own inspiration in the following terms:—"Ce que nous avons dit jusqu'icy, est un préjugé favorable pour rendre croïable ce que nous allons dire. Sans doute on ne sera plus surpris

des immenses revenus que le Mogol recuëille de ses Etats. En voici la liste tirée des archives de l'Empire. L'état du produit de ce grand Domaine, que l'Empereur possède lui seul dans toute l'étenduë de sa Souveraineté, étoit, en l'année 1697, tel que nous l'allons représenter.[1] . . . . . . Le tout supputé fait *trois cens quatre-vingt-sept millions de roupies & cent quatre-vingt-quatorze mille* (38,71,94,000 rupees, or £38,719,400).[2] Ainsi à prendre les roupies des Indes pour trente sols ou environ de nôtre monnoye de France, le Domaine de l'Empereur Mogol lui produit tous les ans, *cinq cens quatre-vingt millions, sept cens quatre-vingt onze mille livres.* Outre ces revenus fixes du Domaine, qu'on tire seulement des fruits de la terre, le casuel de l'Empire est une autre source de richesses pour l'Empereur. 1°. On exige tous les ans un tribut par tête de tous les Indiens idolâtres. Comme la mort, les voyages, & les fuites de ces anciens habitans de l'Indoustan, en rendent le nombre incertain, on le diminuë beaucoup à l'Empereur. Les gouverneurs profitent de leur déguisement. 2°. Toutes les marchandises, que les Négocians Idolâtres font transporter, payent aux Doüannes cinq pour cent de leur valeur. Oramgzeb a exempté les Mahométans de ces sortes d'impots. 3°. Le blanchissage de cette multitude infinie de toiles qu'on travaille aux Indes, est encore la matière d'un tribut. 4°. La mine de diamans paye à l'Empereur une grosse somme. Il exige pour lui les plus beaux & les plus parfaits; c'est-à-dire tous ceux qui sont au-dessus de *trois huit*. 5°. Les port de mer, & particulièrement ceux de Sindi, de Barocha, de Suratte, & de Cambaye, sont taxez à de grosses sommes. Suratte seul rend ordinairement *trente laqs* pour les droits d'entrées, & *onze laqs* pour le profit des monnoyes qu'on y fait battre. 6°. Toute la côte de Coromandel, et les Ports situez sur les bords du Gange, produisent de gros revenus au Souverain. 7°. Ce qui les augmente infiniment c'est l'hêritage qu'il perçoit universellement de tous ses Sujets Mahométans qui sont à sa solde; tous les meubles, tout l'argent, & tous les effets de celui qui meurt, appartiennent de droit à l'Empereur. Par là les femmes des Gouverneurs de Provinces & des Généraux d'armées, sont souvent réduites à une pension modique, & leurs enfans, s'ils sont sans mérite, sont réduits à la mendicité. 8°. Les tributs des Rajas sont assez considérables, pour tenir place parmi les principaux revenus du Mogol. Tout ce casuel de l'Empire, égale, à peu prés, ou surpasse même les immenses richesses que l'Empereur perçoit des seuls fonds de terre de son Domaine. On est étonné sans doute d'une si prodigieuse opulence; mais il faut considérer que tant de richesses n'entre dans les trésors du Mogol, que pour en sortir tous les ans, du moins en partie, & pour couler une autre fois sur ses terres. La moitié de l'Empire subsiste par les libéralitez du Prince, ou du moins elle est à ses gages. Outre ce grande nombre d'Officers & de Soldats qui ne vivent que de la paye, tous les Paisans de la campagne, qui ne labourent que pour le Souverain, sont nourris à ses frais, & presque tous les Artisans des villes, qu'on fait travailler pour le Mogol, sont paiez du Trésor Impérial. On conjecture assez quelle est la dépendance des Sujets, & par conséquent quelle est leur déférence pour leur Maître."

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[1] Selon la manière de compter dans l'Indoustan, un *carol* vaut cent *laqs*, c'est-à-dire, dix millions; & qu'un *laq* vaut cent mille *roupies*: Enfin que les *roupies* valent à peu près *trente sols*, monnoye de France.

[2] My total in the table varies slightly from this amount. There may have been some omissions among the minor items in the French text, while the grand total possibly reproduces the figures of Manucci's original Italian text. Oude, for instance, is not entered at all in the detailed list in Catrou's version.

My concluding extract is taken from Harris's Voyages, wherein explanations are given in regard to the authenticity of the statistical return, and its verification from independent documents.[1] The return itself is of considerable value in this inquiry, in so distinctly supporting, in properly modified terms, the parallel list of provincial revenues furnished by Manucci. It will be seen to reproduce, in identical figures, many of the totals given in the parallel lists derived from the *Dastúr al 'Amals*, quoted at pp. 42, 43. It wisely discriminates the altered condition of Aurangzéb's kingdom in his later years, and the contrast may be followed from the minor reductions under Berár and Ahmadnagar to the more important defalcations in Bidar and Bíjápúr. As regards Manucci's returns, it lends no countenance to the introduction of an independent *Súbah* under Rájmahál, and properly brings back Bengal to sober revenue proportions, from the possibly momentary receipt of the large sum placed to its credit by the Italian physician; and, further, it marks by the omission of Bagláná and Nandair, and the extinction of the dubious tribute of the Mahrattas. The introductory quotation is continued from the passage reproduced in illustration of the return at page 32.

"In the latter end of his father's time, the three provinces of Balkh, Kandahár, and Badakhshán were lost, which produced a revenue of £600,000; and yet, at his decease, he left his dominions in a better condition than he found them, as will appear from the following succinct table of provinces and their revenues, which may be depended upon, and which will be of great use in understanding the subsequent part of this work, as well as other books which treat of the Mogul Empire."

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[1] The chapter from which this passage is copied is headed, "Taken chiefly from the accurate edition of Ramusio, compared with an original MS. in his Prussian Majesty's Library, and with most of the translations hitherto published."

AURANGZÉB'S REVENUES IN 1707.

19 Old Ṣúbahs (Provinces).

	DÁMS.		RUPEES.
1. Dehli … … … …	122,19,50,137	=	3,05,48,753
2. Agrah … … … …	114,67.60,157		2,86,69,003
3. Ajmír … … … …	65,23,45,362		1,63,08,634
4. Allahábád … … …	45,65,43,248		1,14,13,581
5. Punjáb … … … …	82,61,32,107		2,06,53,302
6. Oude … … … …	32,23,27,829		80,58,195
7. Multán … … … …	21,44,42,936		53,61,073
8. Kábul … … … …	16,10,39,354		40,25,983
9. Kashmír … … …	22,99,11,397		57,47,734
10. Gujarát … … …	60,78,49,135		1,51.96,228
11. Bihár … … … …	40,71,61,000		1,01,79,025
12. Sind … … … …	9,18,16,810		22,95,420
13. Daulatábád … … …	103,49,45,100		2,58,73,627
14. Málwah … … …	40,39,01,658		1,00,97,541
15. Berár … … … …	61,40,25,000		1,53,50,625
16. Khándés … … …	44,86,30,000		1,12,15,750
17. Bidar .. … … …	37,29,74,370		93,24,359
18. Bengal .. … … …	52,46,36,240		1,31,15,906
19. Orissa … … … …	14,28,20,000		35,70,500

The two New Ṣúbahs.

20. Haidarábád … … …	111,33,60,000		2,78,34,000
21. Bíjápúr … … …	107,83,05,000		2,69,57,625
	1207,18,76,840	=	30,17,96,864

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The equivalent sum total given in the text is £37,724,615, but the aggregate items do not make more than £30,179,692.[1] The difference, as is obvious, having arisen from the authors allowing 2*s*. 6*d*. for the exchange rate of the rupee (or 1000 rupees=£125); whereas, throughout these calculations, the *nominal* exchange has been reduced to the conventional *even* sum of 2*s*. per rupee, or 10 rupees to the £ sterling, which, though it accords more closely with modern exchanges, and is especially simple in its exhibition of comparative ratios, can scarcely be said to have represented the true equivalent or purchasing power of the current coin of the period, so well as the practical illustration given by the contemporary observer.

Finally, to recapitulate the data collected in the previous pages, I have cast the leading results into tabular forms, the one exhibiting the contrasted provincial returns, the other giving at one view the variations of the grand totals of the revenue of the Mughals for 113 years.

The former furnishes a curious chart of the changing boundaries of the empire—a faithful index of the agricultural advance or retrogression of the several provinces, and suggestive evidence of the effect of the residence of the Court upon the material prosperity of the favoured locality.

The second table instructs us as to what the magnificent domain we now administer could then pay with but little effort, and under many adverse influences.

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[1] 1207,18,76,840÷40=301,79,69,840÷10=£30,179,926.

CONTRASTED RETURNS OF THE PROVINCIAL REVENUES OF THE MUGHAL EMPIRE AT VARIOUS PERIODS

(IN RUPEES).

	A.D. 1594. Akbar.	A.D. 1648. Sháh Jahán.	A.D. 1654. Aurangzéb.	A.D. 1663-66 ? Bernier's return.	Date uncertain. Official returns.	A.D. 1697. Aurangzéb.	A.D. 1707. Aurangzéb.
1. Allahábád...	53,10,677	1,00,00,000	1,31,97,029	94,70,000	1,14,13,575	77,38,000	1,14,13,581
2. Agrah	1,36,56,257	2.25,00,000	3,41,15,052	2,52,25,000	2,85,44,003	2,22,03.550	2,86,69,003
3. Oude.........	50,43,954	75,00,000	90,99,571	68,30,000	80,32,927	. . .	80,58,195
4. Ajmír	71,53,449	1,50,00,000	1,62,19,042	2,19,70,000	1,63,08,642	2,19,00,002	1,63,08,634
5. Gujarát......	1,09,24,122	1,32,50,000	2,17,32,201	1,33,95,000	1,13,68,728	2,33,05,000	1,51,96,228
6. Bihár.........	55,47,985	1,00,00,000	1,36,32,523	95,80,000	1,01,79,525	1,21,50,000	1,01,79,025
7. Bengal	1,49,61,482	1,25,00,000	1,14,46,450	. . .	1,31,15,906	4,00,00,000	1,31,15,906
8. Dehli.........	1,50,40,388	2,50,00,000	3,89,70,978	1,95,25,000	3,03,23,753	1,25,50,000	3.05,48,753
9. Kábul	80,71,024	40,00,000	24,26,950	32,72,500	40,25,983	32,07,250	40,25,983
10. Láhor	1,39,86,460	2.25,00,000	2,72,43,994	2,46,95,000	2,24,53,302	2,33,95,000	2,06,53,302
11. Multán	96,00,764	70,00,000	84,60.529	1.18,40.500	53,57,500	50,25,000	53,61,073
12. Málwah......	60,17,376	1,00,00,000	1,39,32,933	91.62,500	1,00,99,516	99,06,250	1,00,97,541
13. Berár.........	1,73,76,117	1,37,50,000	1,47,65,000	1,58,75,000	2,72,93,131	1,58,07,500	1,53,50,625

14. Khándés ...	75,63,237	1,00,00,000	1,24,23,250	1,85,50,000	1,48,23,308	1,11.05,000	1,12,15,750
15. Ahmadnagar (Daulatábád)	(No return)	1,37,50,000	1,26,79,000	1,72,27,500	3,50,71,119	a. 1,62,04,750 c. 2,00,00,000	2,58,73,622
16. Taṭah	16,56,284	20,00,000	22,30,750	23,20,000	17.20.420	60,02,000	22,95,420
17. Bakar	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	24,00,000	
18. Ḳandahár ...	. . .	15,00,000	15,00,000	19.92,500			
19. Badakhshán.	. . .	10,00,000					
20. Baglánah ...	. . .	5,00,000	. . .	5,00,000	. . .	68,85,000 b. 72,00,000	
21. Balkh	. . .	20,00,000					
22. Kashmír ...	. . .	37,50,000	28,59,750	3,50,000	57,47,509	35,05,000	57,47,734
23. Orissa	. . .	50,00,000	56,39,500	72,70,000	35,58,025	57,07,500	35,70,500
24. Rájmahál ...	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1,00,50,000	
25. Telingána... (Haiderábád, Golconda.)	. . .	75,00,000	48,65,200	68,85,000	2,73,38,200	5,00,00,000	2,78,34,000
26. Bidar	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1,32,68,558	. . .	93,24,359
27. Bíjápúr......	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	5,63,70,678	5,00,00,000	2,69,57,625
Rupees,	14,19,09,576	22,00,00,000	26,74,39,702	22,59,35,500	35,64,14,308	38.62.46.802	30,17.96,859

RECAPITULATION OF THE AMOUNT OF THE REVENUES OF THE MUGHAL EMPIRE AT VARIOUS PERIODS, REJECTING ALL IMPERFECT RETURNS.

MUGHAL EMPERORS.	AUTHORITY.	Land Revenue.	Revenue from all sources.
1. Akbar, A.D. 1593	Nizám-ud-dín Ahmad		£ 32,000,000
2. " A.D. 1594	Abúl Fazl, MSS.	£ 16,574,388	
3. " "	Official documents	16,582,440	
4. " A.D. 1605	Indian authorities, quoted by De Laët	17,450,000	
5. Jahángír, A.D. 1609–11	Captain W. Hawkins		50,000,000
6. " A.D. 1628	Abd ul Hamíd Láhóri	17,500,000	
7. Sháh Jahán, A.D. 1648-9	Ditto	22,000,000	
8. Aurangzéb, A.D. 1655	Official documents	Gross, 26,743,970 Nett, 24,056,114	
9. "	Later official documents	Gross, 35,641,431 Nett, 34,505,890	
10. " A.D. 1695	Gemelli Careri		80,000,000
11. " A.D. 1697	Mannucci (Catrou)	38,719,400 × 2	= 77,438,800
12. " A.D. 1707	Ramusio	30,179,692	

CORRIGENDA.

Since the completion of this work, the author has finally satisfied himself that the true value of the *dám* (or money of account of the Mughal financiers), is $\frac{1}{40}$ and not $\frac{1}{20}$ of a rupee. Under these conditions the table at page 445 may be modified and amended as follows. But in adopting these results, it will be necessary to enlarge Richard Hawkins's ambiguous definition of "crown land" (No. 6), and admit that he designed to refer to the State revenues derived from *all* sources.

	Land Revenue.	Total Revenue from all sources.
1. Fírúz Sháh, A.D. 1351–1388		£6,850,000
2. Bábar, A.D. 1526–1530	£2,600,000	
3. Akbar, A.D. 1593		32,000,000
4. Akbar, A.D. 1594	16,574,388	
5. Akbar, A.D. 1605	17,450,000	
6. Jahángír, A.D. 1609–1611		50,000,000
7. Jahángír, A.D. 1628	17,500,000	
8. Sháh Jahán, 1st return	22,000,000	
9. Sháh Jahán, later return	36,000,000	
10. Aurangzéb, A D. 1697	38,719,400	77,438,800